DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 332 504 FL 018 885

AUTHOR	Davison, Alice, Ed.; Eckert, Penelope, Ed.
TITLE	Women in the Linguistics Profession: The Cornell Lectures. Conference on Women in Linguistics (Ithaca, New York, June 1989).
INSTITUTION	Linguistic Society of America, Washington, D.C.
SPONS AGENCY	National Science Foundation, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	90
CONTRACT	NSF-88-00534
NOTE	268p.; Produced by the Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - General (020)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC11 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Administrator Attitudes; *Cultural Isolation; Deans; Doctoral Dissertations; *Employment Patterns; English Departments; *Females; Graduate Study; Higher Education; Intellectual Disciplines; *Linguistics; Mentors; Scholarship; *Sex Bias; Sexual Harassment; Tenure; Trend Analysis; *Women Faculty; Work Environment

ABSTRACT

Papers on women in linguistics are presented in five groups. An introductory section contains: "Feminist Linguistics: A Whirlwind Tour"; "Women in Linguistics: The Legacy of Institutionalization"; "Reflections on Women in Linguistics"; and "The Structure of the Field and Its Consequences for Women." Papers on trends and data include: "The Status of Women in Linguistics"; "The Representation of Women in Linguistics, 1989"; and "Women in Linguistics: Recent Trends." A section on problems and their sources includes: "How Dick and Jane Got Tenure: Women and University Culture 1989"; "Success and Failure: Expectations and Attributions"; "Personal and Professional Networks"; "Sexual Harassment and the University Community"; and "Two Cultures of Communication." Essays on finding and giving support include: "Gender Values and Success in Academia"; "First Generation Mentors"; and "He Was Her Mentor, She Was His Muse: Women as Mentors, New Pioneers." A section addressing stages in a woman's career contains: "The Dissertation Year"; "A Dean's Perspective on Women in Academe"; "From Graduate School to Tenure"; "Living on the Margin: Pros and Cons of Being Linguists in an English Department"; and "Independent and Isolated Scholars: Report on a Group Discussion." (MSE)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 232 504

The Cornell Lectures

Women in the Linguistics Profession

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

M. Reynolds

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Alice Davison
Penelope Eckert
editors

Committee on the Status of Women
of the Linguistic Society of America

Copyright

The Cornell Lectures

Women in the Linguistics Profession

Editors

Alice Davison
Penelope Eckert

Published by
The Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics of the Linguistic Society of America

1325 18th Street NW Suite 211
Washington DC 20036-6501

1990

Copyright for each paper in this volume rests with the author.

Contents

	Page
Acknowledgments	vi
Foreword Alice Davison	vii
Part 1 **Introduction**	
Feminist Linguistics: A Whirlwind Tour **Some Useful Bibliography** Sally McConnell-Ginet	2 12
Women and Linguistics: **The Legacy of Institutionalization** Paula A. Treichler	23
Reflections on Women in Linguistics Amy Sheldon	33
The Structure of the Field and its Consequences for Women Frederick J. Newmeyer	43
Part 2 **Women in Linguistics: the Numbers**	
The Status of Women in Linguistics Patti Jo Price	55
The Representation of Women in Linguistics, 1989 Alice Davison, Walter Cichocki, David Silva	72
Women in Linguistics: Recent Trends Dorothy Disterheft	89

Part 3
Problems and their Sources

How Dick and Jane Got Tenure: Women and University Culture1989 112
Paula A. Treichler

Success and Failure: Expectations and Attributions 129
Virginia Valian

Personal and Professional Networks 142
Penelope Eckert

Sexual Harassment and the University Community 155
Molly Hite

Two Cultures of Communication 164
Louanna Furbee

Part 4
Finding and Giving Support

Gender Values and Success in Academia 183
Craige Roberts

First Generation Mentors 196
Margaret Speas

He Was Her Mentor, She Was His Muse: Women as Mentors, New Pioneers 208
Amy Sheldon

Part 5
Places in a Woman's Career

The Dissertation Year 224
Margarita Suñer

A Dean's Perspective on Women in Academe 231
Francine Frank

From Graduate School to Tenure 239
Carlota S. Smith

Living on the Margin: Pros and Cons of Being Linguists in an English Department 245
Edwin Battistella and Anne Lobeck

Independent and Isolated Scholars: Report on a Group Discussion 251
Susan Kesner Bland

Epilogue 254
Conference Participants

Acknowledgments

This volume originated in a conference on women in linguistics, organized by Alice Davison at Cornell University in June of 1989, along with co-organizers Sally McConnell-Ginet, Amy Sheldon and Paula Treichler. Thanks are due to a wide range of people and organizations for their generous contributions to the conference, and to the production of this volume. The conference was sponsored by the Department of Modern Languages and Linguistics and the Women's Studies Program at Cornell, the Commitee on the Status of Women of the Linguistic Society of America, and the National Science Foundation's Visiting Professorships for Women program. The conference was funded by the National Science Foundation as part of a visiting professorship which Alice Davison held for the calendar year 1989 in the Department of Modern Languages and Linguistics, Cornell University (NSF grant 88-00534). The cost of publication of this volume was contributed by the LSA Committee on the Status of Women.

The Institute for Research on Learning in Palo Alto, California, generously provided computer facilities and support for the creation of camera-ready copy for this publication. We especially thank Tina Marquez and Steve Oliphant at IRL for software and hardware support, and Ivan Sag for help with the copy-editing. Both editors owe a particular debt of gratitude to Sally McConell-Ginet for her generous and warm support of this project from beginning to end.

A Foreword to the Conference, with Some Afterthoughts

Alice Davison
University of Iowa

In the introductory session of the conference, I gave some background to the conference: why it had come about and what it was intended to do. Here I give a somewhat condensed version of what I said then, overlaid with some afterthoughts about things I now see more clearly in retrospect. Now that the conference has actually occurred, I have had a chance to think over the papers which were given and the effect they had, on me and perhaps on the other people who heard them.

I hope a conference like this was inevitable: a conference with invited speakers who could help to articulate a broad and general agenda for women in linguistics. Yet it was a long time coming about, even with the very interesting and useful panels organized at the annual LSA meetings by the Committee on the Status of Women. A conference like this is unprecedented, in that it was not constituted along the traditional lines of a linguistics conference, with short papers on analyses of data within some accepted body of assumptions about language. In proposing the conference, I had in mind both a positive model and a negative model.

Francine Frank organized a panel at the 1982 LSA meeting in San Diego, at which six currently active linguists presented biographies of six prominent women in linguistics of the 50s and 60s. They were active professionally when the proportion of women in linguistics was much smaller than it is now, yet the quite varied patterns of their professional lives were not unlike what women face now, and it was the specific details of their careers which made an impact on the audience in 1982. For example, it came as quite a surprise to me that someone as well-known and

well-regarded as Mary Haas did not have a permanent job until very late in her career, and had survived for a long time on funds from research grants. The often startling realities and less than perfect circumstances surrounding the careers of women who had achieved distinction in their fields allows women in these times to find some connections and models where professional models are still scarce, and isolation or feelings of being outside the norm are still common. This was the positive model which I wanted to extend to the present day. Paula Treichler's narrative of Dick and Jane gives a contemporary example of the shape of a woman's career.

In the early days of the LSA Committee on the Status of Women, there were open meetings at which problems facing women in linguistics were meant to be discussed. These discussions often took on the air of grievance sessions, of recitals of terrible things which had happened to various women. The grievances were indeed real — jobs were lost, tenure was not granted, very painful compromises were made between professional goals and family responsibilities. The participants were left feeling very upset and angry, but with no clear idea of what the basic problems were, or where to start in their solution.

Since then, much thinking has been done on various fronts, within the women's movement, in various academic disciplines where very interesting work is done on gender, language and academia, and in scientific fields, where the low representation of women continues to be a matter of very deep concern. (This is one of the motivations behind the NSF Visiting Professorships for Women program, for which I wrote the proposal.) I wanted to address some of the basic issues about the pressures causing attrition of women in linguistics, in a format which would include — or at least not exclude — a range of different views of women in linguistic without imposing a particular one on the whole conference.

One possible explanation for why some sort of independent or grass-roots association of women did not emerge much earlier has to do with the fact that women in linguistics have responded to feminist ideas and theories in different ways — some have found very immediate applications in their own research, on gender identity as encoded in language, for example. Others have strong concerns about furthering the careers of women in linguistics without adopting specific applications in their own work. For example, I don't find it possible to connect my research work on syntax to women's issues, nor do I think I have any talent for the kind of research and writing on gender and language which has been done to great effect by others, such as Sally McConnell-Ginet and Paula Treichler. In addition, as Penelope Eckert has pointed out, these subfields of specialization within the fields of linguistics have created networks of communication within these groups of women who know one another personally and share both interests and basic assumptions about language. It is not easy to transcend these strong links and ties to make contact with others in different fields, especially when there is no previous model of a conference to point to.

Given this, perhaps it is not surprising that the conference was organized by someone like myself who was in a very insecure position in the field, and thoroughly marginal in that I did not have a permanent job in a department of linguistics. At least that is how I viewed myself in 1987-88 when I wrote the proposal for the NSF research grant at Cornell, and for this conference. However strongly I may have felt about encouraging some sort of general agenda for women in linguistics, I doubt that I would have gone to such lengths to get funding for a conference if it had not been a very deep concern for me to get the NSF grant, if only so that I would not be obliged to leave the field, as I came very close to being in 1988. (Happily, matters have since taken many turns for the better.) You may imagine

some of my 3 a.m. horrified thoughts of proposing my career as a role model for anyone, or even of having to reveal the specific details in all their unvarnished reality.

One of the most remarkable and moving aspects of the conference, for me, was the sense that I was hearing my women colleagues and myself speaking in our own voices. By this I mean that women were talking freely in a public setting about how we view ourselves and the problems we have to deal with. This meant taking the risk of appearing wrong-headed or inadequate under the scrutiny of others whose good opinion we might care a great deal about. But in the course of the conference, as well as before, I found that the feeling is nearly universal among women in linguistics that we fail to live up to some sort of ideal norm of the successful academic.

While success in an academic field is by no means certain for either men or women, it is easier to imagine a male model of the 'right' career path, where success is not only deserved but also received, and in the right form. The closest approximation for women is the fictional professor of English literature, Kate Fansler, in Carolyn Heilbrun's mystery novels. Kate Fansler is tall, good-looking, and wealthy enough not to have to care too much about other people's opinions, in addition to being a tenured and productive faculty member at a distinguished university. She is without close family ties, except for nieces and nephews who she gets out of hot water, and a husband who is often out of town, or else willing to be a sympathetic ear during the evening cocktail hour. There are two interesting twists to the attractiveness of Kate Fansler as the role model of many of us. The first and most obvious is that Carolyn Heilbrun wrote about this character under the pseudonym of Amanda Cross, fearing probably with every reason that being known as a mystery novel writer would ruin her chances of tenure at Columbia University. She started writing these novels as an

untenured assistant professor, with three small children, a full-time job, and a husband just beginning a graduate degree in economics (Heilbrun (1988)). So Kate Fansler was an alter ego who was as unlike the writer Carolyn Heilbrun as it would be possible to be. Yet as Heilbrun points out, she was by no means dissatisfied with her own family and career. For her, Kate Fansler was merely a way of recreating her identity to allow for greater possibilities and more latitude to take risks. But it is Carolyn Heilbrun's life we should be paying attention to — she succeeded in combining small children and a working husband with a full-time academic job. She succeeded in getting tenure in a department of English literature while at the same time pursuing a novel writing career — occasionally writing to the same correspondent as Amanda Cross and as Carolyn Heilbrun. Surely it was more risky and admirable to be Carolyn Heilbrun than the paragon Kate Fansler. Fansler's fictional life may be more reassuring, but it gives us fewer examples of how to do things right than the actual life of her creator.

I hope this conference will be the first of many conferences, and not a precedent in the sense that every future conference or program should have its own identity and agenda. Something was begun at this conference, at least a start was made in creating networks of communication outside of our own personal circles. I expect it would be hard to find a specific position on women in academia which absolutely everyone would agree with. Yet I hope it will be possible to agree in purpose, and to combine many different points of view into effective cooperation and action.

Reference

Heilbrun, Carolyn (1988) Writing a woman's life. New York: W.W. Norton.

Part 1

Introduction

Feminist Linguistics: A Whirlwind Tour

Sally McConnell-Ginet
Cornell University

[Note: What follows is a lightly edited version of the remarks I made during the opening session of the Conference on Women in Linguistics; my thanks to Dorothy Disterheft for her suggestions. I have retained the conversational tone of those brief comments and the specific information about Cornell.]

As the permanently "local" member of the local planning committee, I'd like to begin by welcoming you all to Cornell and to our Department of Modern Languages and Linguistics. Morrill Hall is the DMLL's home and the oldest building on the Cornell campus. Cornell, as some of you probably know, is not only a privately endowed member of the Ivy League. Some units are state-supported and owe their existence to the land-grant provisions of the 1862 bill sponsored by Justin S. Morrill, legislation that extended educational opportunities beyond the Eastern elite. The University's founder, Ezra Cornell, and its first president, Andrew Dickson White, were very progressive for their day in their approach to education. The Cornell seal bears Ezra's motto: "I would found an institution where any person can find instruction in any subject." The use of the word "person" is quite significant. Both Cornell and White were very much committed to educating women and people of color, but they knew that New York legislators would disapprove. The word "person", they reasoned, did extend across sexual and racial barriers, but, they also reasoned, conservative legislators would not even think of this possibility and hence would support the university they proposed. They reasoned correctly. Legislators gave their blessing and women and blacks were admitted as students. Now, the actual experience of women and racial minorities at Cornell has been far from unproblematic – e.g., Cornell had the

dubious distinction a decade ago of winning the "Silver Snail Award" for its failure to open faculty positions and promotion opportunities adequately to women, twenty years ago the protests of Black students at Cornell gained the attention of national media, in May 1989 the Board of Trustees voted again not to divest their South African holdings, and homophobic and racist sentiments appear overtly on restroom walls and covertly in many aspects of life at Cornell today. Nonetheless, many people here have tried to build on the promise offered by Cornell's beginnings. For example, we used the phrase "any subject" in the motto in arguing successfully for adding women's studies and Afro-American studies to the Cornell curriculum.

When Alice Davison first proposed this conference on women in linguistics, we thought of trying to plan a conference on women and language to precede or follow it so that those who wanted to could take part in both. It became clear, however, that one conference was all we could realistically manage this year. Yet we did want to include some mention of feminist-inspired work in linguistics, both because a number of women have undertaken such work with considerable enthusiasm, and because some of the issues it raises may have implications even for those women in linguistics whose own research areas seem quite remote from feminist scholarship.

What I will try to do in what follows is briefly indicate what I see as important trends and questions in linguistically oriented research dealing with the interaction of language and gender. I am appending a brief annotated bibliography devoted mainly to language/gender issues, which draws heavily on that in Frank and Treichler (1989). I will also mention briefly and include a brief bibliography on feminist discussions of academia, of epistemology, and of the philosophy of science, work that has implications for thinking about

the past and possible future of linguistics as part of academic curricula and as a theoretical discipline.

During the late 60s and early 70s, increasing numbers of women began to question publicly received views of women, their relations to men and to one another, their capacities and their views of themselves and others. Feminist thinkers and activists drew attention to the role of language and its use in sexual politics. They coined new words like sexism and herstory and rejected the traditional equations of humanness and maleness that seem to be implicit in the use of he with sex-indefinite antecedents like every speaker or the linguist, and letters to the editor protested "sexist language" of other kinds such as non-parallel courtesy titles for women and men and derogatory references to women. Some feminists talked about "women's language", often seeing women as harmed by inadequate access to linguistic resources, by men's deprecation of the language they used, or by failure to understand (or sometimes even hear) what women said. But most linguists, even those who considered themselves feminists, initially saw little connection between their own professional work and concerns such as these about the connections between sexism and language. One notable early exception was Robin Lakoff. In Lakoff (1975), which was widely read, she extended the linguistic technique of systematizing intuitive judgments of "acceptability" to try to delineate a picture of "women's language" and used minimal pair analysis to demonstrate lack of parallelism in pairs of words that seemed superficially to differ only in the sex of their referents (e.g., cleaning lady vs. the non-occurring *garbage gentleman).

Lakoff's claims about "women's language" were criticized on theoretical, empirical, and political grounds. As Francine Frank, Virginia Valian, and many others observed (including me), Lakoff conflated competence and performance, attributed to "women" as a

group some locutions probably confined to a few older white middle-class women and others used by many men, and seemed to concur with men's appraisals of utterances she classed as "women's" as trivial or ineffective. Her work was nonetheless very important, not least because it stimulated others to use linguistic tools to explore how gender might affect actual language use as well as normative models for language use (both overt and covert). Methods of quantitative sociolinguistics, ethnographic approaches to the detailed study of language use, and discourse analytic studies have now helped enrich our understanding of women and men as members of speech communities. Coates (1986), listed in the addenda to Frank and Treichler's bibliograpy, is a good introduction, especially to sociolinguistic work in England. Philips, Steele, and Tanz (1987) contains a number of very interesting cross-cultural studies; McConnell-Ginet (1988b) reviews this book. And the annotated bibliography in Thorne, Kramarae, and Henley (1983) continues to be an invaluable guide to the literature.

The focus of much of the academic work on language and gender in the 1970s was on the correlation of sex of utterer with features of the form and content of what was uttered. As research progressed, however, it became clear that such an approach is inadequate. One major problem is that the sex-difference mode of inquiry fails to consider how individual gender may interact both with other characteristics of the utterer – e.g., regional background, social class, race and ethnicity, sexual orientation, age, education, occupation, social network – and with features of the communicative situation – e.g., relation to the addressee, addressee's gender, setting, purpose of the utterance. It is other factors such as these that generally mediate correlations with speaker sex or gender identity, which is rarely the sole or even the primary factor conditioning systematic sex differences in patterns of language use. A related difficulty is that correlations do nothing to explain the mechanisms

responsible for co-variation of formal patterns and speaker sex or gender.

In the past decade, much more attention has been paid in feminist scholarship on language to the diversity of women and to the importance of their communicative strategies and other contextual factors in generating particular kinds of language use. Penelope Brown's work on the linguistic dimensions of women's politeness, reported in summary form in Brown (1980), still stands as a model for research that moves beyond simple descriptive cataloguing of forms produced to an explanatory account of women's communicative strategies. Brown's work is especially notable for its attempt to make explicit the links between lingustic and sociocultural resources available to women, paying attention to the ethnographic details of the situations in which those resources are deployed. An interesting theoretical question raised by such work is how pragmatic knowledge about ways of performing speech acts and general trends in an individual's choice among competing strategies may interact with knowledge of the linguistic resources available to her.

Not surprisingly, much of the best work on how gender affects use of language has drawn from frameworks other than those offered by linguistics: from anthropology, psychology, sociology, literary theory, philosophy of language, and from interdisciplinary work in women's studies, communication, and cultural studies. At the same time, however, standard linguistic methods and theories have also proved useful, especially in providing precise representations of the language women and men use. Sociolinguistic studies of the relation of gender to variation and to ongoing language change, for example, draw on work in linguistic phonetics, phonology, morphology and syntax. Studies focused on conversational analysis have drawn from work in pragmatics, especially speech act theory; a good example is the work by Marjorie Harness Goodwin on

girls' and boys' conversational interactions, reported, for example, in Goodwin (1980) and in Goodwin (1987).

No matter what their particular research interests, women in linguistics are likely to find much that illuminates their own experience as students, scholars, and teachers in the research in the American context on ways that individual gender and gender relations influence strategies and styles of using language. Academic women may find especially useful Treichler and Kramarae (1983), which reviews research on linguistic communication in academic settings and suggests ways to promote women's fuller participation in intellectual exchange within academic institutions. Moulton (1983) is also of special interest to linguists, since much of the style of argumentation and exposition in linguistic theory is closely akin to the dominant adversarial paradigm of philosophical discourse that Moulton suggests many women find antithetical to fruitful intellectual discussion.

Feminist scholarship on language has also, of course, addressed questions of the genderization of meaning, especially the issues surrounding controversies over sexist language. Francine Frank and Paula Treichler have a clear and thoughtful introduction to this work in Frank and Treichler (1989). They discuss, for example, the excellent empirical research by psychologist Wendy Martyna demonstrating clearly that the pronoun he does not in fact function productively or interpretively as prescriptive grammars suggest. The book also contains essays by the editors and others that address general theoretical issues. How are meanings attached to linguistic forms and how do meanings change? How does gender bias affect the differential authority attached to competing meanings? Would taking a "woman's eye" view of cultural history change linguistic reconstructions of meanings? An important feature of the book is the extensive and sensitive set of guidelines offered for nonsexist usage.

Current language usage in linguistics does show the influence of recent thinking about the sexism that is at least implicit – and often explicit – in many ways of using language. Anaphoric he with a sex-indefinite antecedent is much less common than it once was; articles in journals like *Linguistic Inquiry*, *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, and *Language* sometimes use generic she or other alternatives. We also find example sentences peopled by Mary and Linda as well as the ubiquitous John and Bill; some linguists experiment with sex-ambiguous names like Lee and Chris. Glosses for gender-neutral directly deictic third-person singular pronouns like Finnish hän and spoken Mandarin ta often substitute 's/he' or something similar for the traditional but inaccurate English he, which is of course not interpretable in such occurrences as sex-neutral. Nonetheless, the language used in linguistics classrooms, talks, and publications undoubtedly still conveys far too often a sexually biased and stereotyped view of the world. And there are still linguists as dismissive of such concerns as the group at Harvard in the early 1970s who condescendingly wrote of "pronoun envy" in disparaging women students' claim that sex-indefinite usages of he are at best problematic.

More generally, research that emphasizes sociocultural gender is still far more marginal in linguistics than in many other academic disciplines. Such work is not completely ignored in mainstream linguistics. For example, Fritz Newmeyer asked me to contribute a chapter on language and gender to one of the volumes in the Cambridge Survey series published last year under his editorship (see McConnell-Ginet 1988a), and the *Oxford Encyclopedia of Linguistics*, edited by Bill Bright, will also include a short entry on this topic. *Language* has published several book reviews and review articles in recent years on language/gender research, and reviews and articles have appeared in *Language in Society*, *J. of Sociolinguistics*, and *J. of Pragmatics*.

Nonetheless, the bulk of the work in this area is available only in books or journals not standardly read by linguists. And few if any major linguistics programs consider language and gender a significant research area, judging by faculty recruitment and graduate student training. Part of the explanation lies in the fact that the dominant research paradigms in linguistics have focused on language as an autonomous cognitive system that is structured in ways quite independent of social, cultural, political, and historical factors. It seems quite unlikely that questions about binding theory or the logic of plurals or feature geometry will be illumined by the kinds of insights emerging from work in feminist theory or other areas of women's studies. Many women as well as men were initially attracted to the study of linguistics precisely because they found formal approaches to language study intellectually exciting and fruitful. My own path to linguistics began with work in the foundations of math and logic.

Not surprisingly, few linguists with research interests in language/gender questions have been very much interested in formal linguistic theory, which has investigated abstract properties of the human language capacity that are not tied to the uses of language in social life or to cultural ideas about language and its uses. Some feminist linguists see this formal emphasis as indicative of male domination of the discipline, but we really have no good grounds for drawing such a conclusion. We have no idea what inquiry into language might be like if women had dominated academic linguistics since its beginnings rather than men – or if both women's and men's modes of intellectual inquiry had developed in a climate where sexual biases did not exist.

Men have indeed played the major role in setting research agendas in linguistics, although some women have also been very influential. Barbara Partee, for example, was really responsible for bringing formal

semantics, once conceived of as a purely philosophical enterprise, into the scope of empirical linguistic research, and Joan Bresnan launched the distinctive LFG framework for syntactic analysis, which has generated considerable important research. Though it may perhaps be true that a higher proportion of women than men have pursued their research programs in socially or functionally oriented approaches to linguistic inquiry, even in these areas men have dominated the field and played a role disproportionate to their numbers in shaping methodologies and theoretical frameworks. It seems to me as serious a mistake to suppose that formal linguistics is somehow alien to women's capacities or concerns as to deny the potential interest and importance of work that looks at the interaction of the language system with social and cultural knowledge and views of gender. I would like to have women and especially feminists working in all areas of linguistics that excite their intellects and seem to suit their talents, formal as well as functional.

Let me repeat that we really know little if anything about what linguistics might be like if women set the questions and developed the theories. As Newmeyer (1988) shows, linguistics (like other academic disciplines) is not immune to social and political influences. Feminist theorists have raised questions about the nature of knowledge, the academy, and science that we as linguists might profitably examine; see, for example, Aisenberg and Harrison (1988), Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1985), Minnich, O'Barr, and Rosenfeld (1988), Keller (1985), Harding and O'Barr (1987), and the articles in *Hypatia*, vol. 2, 3-4. What emerges from such work is that all intellectual inquiry, including scientific theorizing, is influenced by the social gender systems in which its practitioners have lived. But we need not understand how women's perspectives might eventually affect the content or form of linguistic theory to see that a feminist linguistic practice is a goal towards which numbers of women and

men in linguistics are already working, no matter what the content of their research interests. This conference, I hope, will further our progress towards that goal. We can talk during these two days about how to work together not only to respect but to nurture women's intelligence and imagination in linguistics classrooms, faculty offices, departmental activities, and professional meetings. Feminism in the linguistics profession can only thrive through collective action, of which this conference, I hope, represents a modest beginning.

Some Useful Bibliography

References on Gender and Language Use

Most annotations are borrowed from Suggestions for Further Reading, Frank and Treichler (1989), but I have made some changes and added some entries. In the interests of saving space, I had to omit most of the literary references but refer interested readers to Frank and Treichler's list.

Baron, Dennis (1986). Grammar and Gender. New Haven: Yale University Press. Examines how linguists, language scholars, and usage commentators have described, etymologized, interpreted, and misinterpreted many gender-related linguistic forms. Includes a comprehensive chronological catalog of proposals for an epicene pronoun.

Berryman, Chynthia L. and Virginia A. Eman, eds. (1980). Communication, Language and Sex: Proceedings of the First Annual Conference. Rowley, MA: Newbury House. Sixteen papers from a 1978 conference at Bowling Green State University, two sample course syllabi, and a summary of discussion about pedagogy and research. Focus is on stereotypes, research on sex differences in communication, and pedagogical approaches to these topics. Includes introduction by Cheris Kramarae.

Black, Maria and Rosalind Coward (1981). "Linguistic, Social and Sexual Relations: A Review of Dale Spender's Man Made Language." A very thoughtful discussion of language/gender issues and useful critique of Spender.

Brown, Penelope (1980). "How and Why are Women More Polite: Some Evidence from a Mayan

Community." In McConnell-Ginet, Borker, and Furman, eds., 111-136.

Cameron, Deborah (1984). Feminism and Linguistic Theory. New York: St. Martin's. Provides a critique of feminist work on language that is linguistically uninformed but also argues that mainstream linguistics does not provide appropriate theoretical framework for investigating kinds of questions that interest feminist. Does not consider some of the most pervasive theoretical perspectives in American linguistics.

Coates, Jennifer (1986). Women, Men and Language. London and New York: Longman. Useful paperback text, emphasizing quantitative sociolinguistic research in Great Britain on sex differences in language use. Also considers the research tradition in dialectology and anthropological linguistics.

Coates, Jennifer and Deborah Cameron, eds. (1989). Women in their Speech Communities. London and New York: Longman. I have not yet seen this but quote from the advertising: "up-to-date picture of current research ... on a variety of speech communities, linguistic events, and settings – from casual conversations and classroom interactions to business meetings and weddings...uses approaches from sociolinguistics and discourse analysis."

Eakins, Barbara Westbrook and R. Gene Eakins (1978). Sex Differences in Human Communication. Boston: Houghton. A text for communication courses at high-school or beginning college level. Discusses sex differences in verbal and nonverbal communication courses and sex-biased language usage. Includes suggested activities for students.

Frank, Francine and Frank Anshen (1984). Language and the Sexes. Albany: State University of New York Press. Focusing on contemporary issues, this book concisely syntehsizes a wide range of research related to English and several other languages. Topics include naming, stereotypes of language behavior, the politics of conversation, sexist language usage, and possibilities of reform. Contains suggested projects and nonsexist language guidelines.

Frank, Francine and Paula A. Treichler, eds. (1989). Language, Gender, and Professional Writing: Theoretical Approaches and Guidelines for Nonsexist Usage. New York: MLA. Following an introductory essay by the two editors, Part I includes essays by each of them individually and by H. Lee Gershuny, Sally McConnell-Ginet, and Susan J. Wolfe. Part II is devoted to extensive and subtle guideliness to nonsexist usage. Part III includes several different bibliographies, among them that from which most of the entries in this list come.

Goodwin, Marjorie Harness (1980). "Directive-Response Speech Sequences in Girs' and Boys' Task Activities." In McConnell-Ginet, Borker, and Furman, eds.

Goodwin, Marjorie Harness (1987). "Children's Arguing." IIn Philips, Steele, and Tanz, eds.

Grahn, Judy (1984). Another Mother Tongue. Boston: Beacon Press. A search for the language and linguistic history of lesbian and gay culture. Includes scholarship, reports from the field, interviews, poetry, and other material.

Hill, Alette Olin (1986). Mother Tongue, Father Time: A Decade of Linguistic Revolt. Bloomington, IN:

Indiana University Press. Surveys issues of gender and language, with special attention to address forms, the value of women's language, and need for language change.

Jenkins, Mercilee M. (1982). "Guidelines for Student-Faculty Communication." IN Sex and Gender in the Social Sciences: Reassessing the Introductory Course, ed. Judith M. Gappa and Janice Pearce. Washington: Women's Educational Equity Act Program. Rpt. as Removing Bias: Guidelines for Student-Faculty Communication. Annandale, IL: Speech Communication Association, 1983. Guidelines and suggestion for facilitating sex equity in and outside the classroom.

Key, Mary Ritchie (1975). Male/Female Language, With a Comprehensive Bibliography. Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press. One of the very earliest texts by a linguist. Includes interesting material on sex-linked variation in a number of different languages and on varied systems for sex-marked pronominal reference.

Kramarae, Cheris, ed. (1980). The Voices and Words of Women and Men. Oxford: Pergamon Press. Includes a number of very interesting articles on such topics as graffiti, the rhetoric of sociobiology, and reconstruction of Indo-European kinship terminology. [Same as Women's Studies International Quarterly 3 (2/3), 1980.]

Kramarae, Cheris (1981). Women and Men Speaking: Frameworks for Analysis. Rowley, MA: Newbury House. An analysis of theory and empirical research on language, speech, and the ethnography of speaking.

Kramarae, Cheris, Muriel R. Schulz, and William M. O'Barr, eds. (1984). Language and Power. Beverly

Hills: Sage. A collection of essays on existence and role of power in linguistic interactions, many of which take gender as analytically central.

Kramarae, Cheris and Paula A. Treichler, with the assistance of Ann Russo (1985). A Feminist Dictionary. London: Pandora-Routledge. Rpt. New York: Methuen, 1986. Documents words, definitions, and linguistic theories of the English-speaking feminist movements. Starts by placing women at the center of the lexicographic project and contrasts traditional with feminist assumptions about dictionary making. The 586-page work includes an extensive bibliography.

Lakoff, Robin (1975). Language and Woman's Place. New York: Harper and Row. A starting point for much subsequent work. Its problems are lucidly discussed in Valian (1977).

Maltz, Daniel N. and Ruth A. Borker (1982). "A Cultural Approach to Male-Female Miscommunication." In Language and Social Identity, ed. John J. Gumperz, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 195-216.

McConnell-Ginet, Sally (1983). "Review Article [on Language, Sex, and Gender]." Language 59:373-91. Discusses some general issues of research on language and sex suggested by some of the articles in Orasanu, Slater, and Adler (1979), emphasizing especially issues of context and interpretation.

McConnell-Ginet, Sally (1988a). "Language and Gender." In Linguistics: The Cambridge Survey, vol. IV, ed. F.J. Newmeyer. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 373-391. Considers why sex and gender have been more central to literary studies and anthropology than to linguistics. Reviews recent research on gender in relation to linguistic

production (by speakers and writers) and to interpretation.

McConnell-Ginet (1988b). "Review [of Philips, Steele, and Tanz (1987)]." Language 64: 778-781.

McConnell-Ginet, Ruth Borker, and Nelly Furman, eds. (1980). Women and Language in Literature and Society. New York: Praeger. Rpt. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1986. Includes both sociolinguistic and anthropological research on language and gender and feminist analyses of literary texts. Also contains introductory overview essays by the editors (a linguist, an anthropologist, and a literary scholar).

Nilsen, Alleen Pace. (1979) Changing Words in a Changing World: Pop! Goes the Language. Tempe, AZ: Arizona State University. Aimed at younger readers, a teaching guide to understanding language as a social phenomenon. Includes material, classroom exercises, and fieldwork assignments on nonsexist, inclusive language usage.

Orasanu, Judith, Mariam K. Slater, and Leonore Loeb Adler (1979). Language, Sex and Gender: Does "La Différence" Make a Difference?. New York New York Academy of Sciences. [Annals of New York Academy of Scineces, vol. 327.] Papers delivered at a workshop held on October 22, 1977. Includes contributions from linguists and anthropologists. See McConnell (1983) for review.

Penfield, Joyce, ed. (1987). Women and Language in Transition. Albany: State University of New York Press. Ten essays on women and language with sections on "liberating language," "identity creation," and on the linguistic experiences of women of color.

Philips, Susan U., Susan Steele and Christine Tanz, eds. (1987). Language, Gender and Sex in Comparative Perspective. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Articles based on presentations at 1983 NEH-funded conference. Reviewed in McConnell-Ginet (1988b).

Shibamoto, Janet S. (1985). Japanese Women's Language. London and New York: Academic Press. Reviews research on women's speech in Japan and reports original sociolinguistic fieldwork, focused on syntactic variation.

Smith, Philip M. (1985). Language, the Sexes, and Society. Oxford: Blackwell. Reviews research on language and sex roles in both Britain and the U.S.; emphasis on social psychological studies.

Sorrels, Bobbye D. (1983). The Nonsexist Communicator: Solving the Problems of Gender and Awkwardness in Modern English. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall. Practical guidelines for overcoming sexism in written, oral, and non-verbal communication. Includes examples, solutions, self-tests, and a glossary.

Spender, Dale (1980). Man Made Language. London: Routledge. Argues that language is inherently male-biased. Its problems have been discussed, e.g., in Black and Coward (1981); nonetheless, it has been influential, especially for English women beginning to think about inequalities in language use.

Unnard, Una (1977). Mrs. Man. San Francisco: Germainbooks. Study of customs and laws about married women's names.

Tannen, Deborah (1986). That's Not What I Meant! How Conversational Style Makes or Breaks Your Relations with Others. New York: Morrow. A popular book by a linguist on workings of conversation in everyday life. Includes chapter on male-female differences in conversation as "cross-cultural differences," drawing heavily on Maltz and Borker (1982). Tannen is currently completing another book for a general audience devoted to sex differences in communicative style.

Thorne, Barrie and Nancy Henley, eds. (1975). Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance. Rowley, MA: Newbury House. Important essays with an extensive annotated bibliography.

Thorne, Barrie, Cheris Kramarae, and Nancy Henley, eds. (1983). Language, Gender, and Society. New essays with update of excellent annotated bibliography.

Treichler, Paula A. (1986). "Language, Feminism, Theory: An Annotated Bibliography." Women and Language 10.1, 5-36. A partial bibiliography of recent feminist scholarship on language that takes a more theoretical perspective.

Treichler, Paula A. and Cheris Kramarae (1983). "Women's Talk in the Ivory Tower." Communication Quarterly 31 (1983): 118-132. Reviews research on women and language in academia and suggests both an analytic framework and an alternative approach to academic structures that can enable women to participate more fully in the life of the academic community.

Valian, Virginia (1977). "Linguistics and Feminism." In Feminism and Philosophy, ed. Mary Vetterling-Braggin, Frederick Elliston, and Jane

English (Totowa, NJ: Littlefield, Adams and Co.). Rpt. in Vetterling- Braggin (1981), 68-91.

Vetterling-Braggin, Mary, ed. (1981). Sexist Language: A Modern Philosophical Analysis. Totowa, NJ: Littlefield. A collection of essays and a general introduction seeking to "elucidate current philosophical positions" for and against the claim that ordinary language is sexist. Topics covered include defining sexist language, the moral significance of its use, emamples (including "generics" like he and man, gender-neutral terms, terms for sexual activity, and courtesy titles), and sexist versus racist language. See McConnell-Ginet (1983) for a review.

Women and Language News. An interdisciplinary research periodical publishedat Stanford University from 1976 to 1981, at the University of Illinois at Urbana from 1981 to 1989, and since 1989 at George Mason University.

Women's Studies in Communication. The Organization for Research on Women and Communication of the Western Speech Communication Division has published this journal since 1977 at Humboldt State University and the University of Oregon. It emphasizes interpersonal, rhetorical, and organizational studies of communication.

References on Feminist Analyses of Academia, Epistemology, and Science

[This is a highly selective and unsystematic listing, which I have not annotated.]

Aisenberg, Nadya and Mona Harrison (1988). Women of Academe: Outsiders in the Sacred Grove. Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press.

Belenky, Mary Field, Blythe McVicker Clinchy, Nancy Rule Goldberge, and Jill Mattuck Tarule (1986). Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice, and Mind. New York: Basic Books.

Chamberlain, Miriam K., ed. (1988). Women in Academe: Progress and Prospects. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Female Graduate Students and Research Staff in the Laboratory for Computer Science and the Artificial Intelligence Laboratory at MIT (1983). "Barriers to Equality in Academia: Women in Computer Science at MIT." Available from Laboratory for Computer Science, MIT, 545 Technology Square, Cambridge, MA 02139.

Gilligan, Carol (1982). In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Hall, Roberta M. and Bernice R. Sandler (1982). "The Classroom Climate: A Chilly One for Women?" Published by the Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, 1818 R Street NW, Washington, DC 20009. [Project has other useful publications on related issues.]

Harding, Sandra and Merrill B. Hintikka, eds. (1983). Discovering Reality: Feminist Perspectives on Epistemology, Metaphysics, Methodology, and Philosophy of Science. Dordrecht: Reidel.

Harding, Sandra, ed. (1987). Feminism and Methodology: Social Science Issues. Bloomington:

Indiana University Press and Stony Stratford Open University Press.

Keller, Evelyn Fox (1985). Reflections on Gender and Science. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Keller, Evelyn Fox and Helene Moglen (1987). "Competition: A Problem for Academic Women." In Miner and Longino, eds., 21-38.

Miner, Valerie and Helen E. Longino, eds. (1987). Competition: A Feminist Taboo? New York: The Feminist Press at The City University of New York.

Minnich, Elizabeth, Jean F. O'Barr, and Rachel A. Rosenfeld, eds. (1988). Reconstructing the Academy: Women's Education and Women's Studies. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Moulton, Janice (1983). "A Paradigm of Philosophy: The Adversary Method." In Harding and Hintikka, eds., 149-164.

Newmeyer, Frederick J. (1988). The Politics of Linguistics. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press. [Not explicitly feminist but useful for thinking about the history and practice of linguistics in its sociopolitical context.]

Simeone, Angela (1987). Academic Women: Working Towards Equality. South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey.

Women and Linguistics: The Legacy of Institutionalization[1]

Paula A. Treichler
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

When I was studying for preliminary doctoral examinations in linguistics in the late 1960s, I used to divert myself with a set of volumes called *Biographies of Linguists*. This title was a euphemism: the book was a collection of obituaries. But no matter – these portraits were immensely fascinating, especially when the alternative was acoustic phonetics or Hjelmslev. Particularly compelling were the portraits of the Indo-European philologists, many of whom began their lives as child prodigies (including Rasmus Rask and Saussure, as I recall), became dizzyingly erudite, embarked on a life of scholarship, and died some sixty years and sixty books later. My favorite example among these learned gentlemen scholars – I forget his name – conducted his grammatical researches 17 or 18 hours a day, 7 days a week, year in year out, for some 70 years. On the day of his 50th wedding anniversary, he consented to the persuasions of his wife and family and agreed to attend the celebration, to which relatives and friends from all over the country had come. Poor man, he lasted less than an hour and then, overwhelmed by the sense that precious time was slipping away, he retreated to his study where he stayed till he died.

This extraordinary portrait of devotion to labor, more obsessive than anything Wall Street or Silicon Valley can offer us, tells us about both scholarship and the conditions in which it takes place. My remarks here concern the socially constituted nature of scholarship and what I will call the conditions of institutionalization. The shape and nature of institutionalization is not accidental – the classroom format, the lecture, rules for speaking, faculty organization, graduate student

apprenticeship, the academic marketplace – all these features of current academic life have a history.

This analysis starts with a contradiction: historically, many women have found the academy compatible with their values, temperaments, and professional aspirations, yet few have been adequately recognized or rewarded for their achievements; with few exceptions, the academy has proved a thorny and inhospitable environment, making its concessions to women grudgingly, in the face of political, economic, and legal pressure. Even today, in the wake of nearly two decades of legislation and litigation on behalf of sexual equity, women lag behind men on virtually all statistical measures; and many women report continuing frustration and alienation in the academic environment. The identification of sexism – institutionalized discrimination against women – has given us considerable explanatory power in accounting for and predicting stratification by sex. But what we today call sexism – and such other forms of institutionalized discrimination as racism, ageism, homophobia, "ableism," and so on – arise out of a crucial historical legacy as well. If we take Herr Professor X as a kind of canonical example, we can identify some of the features of this legacy and of the conditions under which scholarship and the academic enterprise evolved: a male scholar, a gentleman, educated in a European tradition, often with an independent income, often with a full-time wife to manage for him. This pair – the gentleman scholar and his household (and life) manager – helps illuminate a relationship between women and the academy whose effects persist today.

That this relationship remains problematic is all the more reason to examine its history. The fate of a particular request to the university administration on behalf of women, for example, may initially appear to be localized in time and place. Repeated negotiations over such requests, with their remarkable structural

similarities over time, suggest a pervasive institutional reluctance to commit resources to women; accordingly, a variety of discursive and other practices can be identified which camouflage this often subterranean reluctance behind formal institutional discourse. Moreover, what we see at one university, uniquely constituted, we see elsewhere; particular incidents therefore encourage reflection about more general patterns and practices.

Let me give one example. Women were admitted to the University of Illinois at Urbana only two years after it opened in 1868 as the Illinois Industrial University; Regent John Milton Gregory cast the deciding vote for coeducation in 1870, even as he did so expressing his reservations about this "innovation of doubtful wisdom." The ambivalence of Gregory's affirmation accurately foreshadowed the institution's response to women in the years that followed. Take 1898, when the struggle began to get a new carpet for the Woman's Parlor. As Violet DeLille Jayne, the first dean of women at Urbana, repeatedly pointed out to university president Andrew Draper, a new carpet would cost no more than $100 or so, and would go a long way toward humanizing the one place on campus the women students could call their own (like the male students, most women students lived in private rooming-houses or in the homes of local citizens). The carpet on the floor clashed with the wallpaper, wrote Dean Jayne, producing "an almost excruciatingly inharmonious effect." President Draper replied that such expenditures were out of the question. Furthermore, he argued (an argument that was to be used by the physician-husband of the narrator in Charlotte Perkins Gilman's *The Yellow Wallpaper*), "I remember something being said about the carpet in the women's parlor a year ago, but I have come to the conclusion that the carpet is better than the paper on the walls, and am fearful that if you have a new carpet you will think it necessary to have new paper." Above all, in any case, the university had no money. Dean Jayne persisted. The parlor was used daily by 100 to 200 women, she wrote;

the floor and woodwork were badly in need of paint, the old desks and chairs needed repair, and the couches had given out. Besides dust in the creases of the couches, she added, she had also "found indications of living creatures that make them even more repellent." Unfortunately, the president told her, the university had no money. For seven years, Dean Jayne's requests for furnishings were either ignored or denied; on the eve of her resignation from the university to be married, the president cordially invited her to sit on his veranda and discuss women's furnishings. The university, of course, still had no money.

Somewhere in the middle of this problematic seven-year dialogue, President Draper requested $250 from the Board of Trustees to have squirrels caught and released on the campus grounds. This Squirrel Park project was dear to his heart. "The influence upon University life," he wrote, "and upon the feelings of the students, would be considerable and students would carry the influence to all parts of the state." President Draper's Squirrel Park (which was approved by the trustees) illustrates a rhetorical strategy that will be familiar to most women who have ever submitted a request to a higher administrator: the president elevates and idealizes his own goals while trivializing those of women; in addition, he forces Dean Jayne into the role of supplicant, the wife begging the husband for a little extra housekeeping money – perennially asking, documenting, and persuading. Her humility and tact, like Draper's evasions, were virtually infinite: "You said perhaps if I presented the matter to you when you are not quite so tired out," she wrote, "you might see it differently. May I then bring the matter to your attention again?"

The Squirrel Park episode, while at some level inescapably comic, nevertheless reveals real institutional priorities: the land-grant university was far more unambivalently hospitable to animals than to women. It also offers a rhetorical model for dialogue

between women and universities from which many higher educational administrators have never shown an inclination to depart.

The decades at the end of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth were marked by feminist organization and activism, and for a time it seemed that all disciplines and professions would open to women at last. For many complicated reasons, this did not come to pass.[2] For much of the present century, the conditions for women that I have been describing remained in effect until the activism, public hearings, and legislation of the 1960s and 1970s initiated slow and painful efforts toward challenge and change. This history of systematic, routine oppression of women was thus profoundly embedded in academic life until quite recently, and even today, despite some change, the patterns of the past imprint themselves on the present.

Nowhere is vigilance more needed than in the identification and evaluation of intellectual and scientific arguments about "woman's nature," arguments which are by no means confined to the nineteenth century. Claims for a universal "maternal instinct," medical and psychiatric accounts of female development, hypotheses about women's "raging hormones," and psychological examinations based on existing conventional norms have all been used in the twentieth-century United States to challenge women's right to intellectual and professional equality. And lest we think the science of linguistics escaped such crude biological essentialism, let us remember Otto Jespersen's (1964:252) assertion that females' more fluent verbal abilities could be attributed to the "vacant chambers" of their brains which, unlike the more complex cerebral structures characteristic of males, enabled them to speak and read without processing the material. Discussing findings that women read more quickly with better comprehension than men, Jespersen emphasizes that "this rapidity was no proof of

intellectual power, and some of the slowest readers were highly distinguished men."[3] Though for many years we have heard fewer arguments about the negative effects of the brain on the uterus and vice versa, straightforward biologism is coming back strong. Sociobiology, neurosciences, genetics, molecular biology – all generate essentialist arguments about "women's nature," now intertwined within the genetic structure of DNA. Just a few years ago a psychologist specializing in reading at the University of Illinois reported that grade school boys do better reading car magazines than romances whereas girls read both kinds of material equally fluently. "Boys are more discriminating;" he concluded, "they only read what interests them whereas girls do fine on anything." And an AP wire service story of November 18, 1988, asserts that "women's abilities vary with their hormone levels" – specifically, research finds that "women perform significantly better in verbal fluency and fine-motor muscular control when their estrogen and progesterone levels are high." A crucial role for us continues to be to challenge the overt content of such arguments and to demonstrate the ways in which scholarship is repeatedly harnessed to ideology as a mechanism for representation and control. (See appendix, for example.)

For almost two decades, gatherings of women scholars and other academic women have featured both a text and a subtext. The text involves the intellectual business of teaching and scholarship: questions of theory and methodology, of the interdisciplinary nature of feminist scholarship and women's studies, and of the links between curriculum, pedagogy, and research. The subtext involves the conditions of our institutionalization. Here we discuss ways of establishing, preserving, and expanding our bases of support in the form of women's studies programs, gay studies programs, status of women committees, women's caucuses, graduate programs, journals, faculty appointments, library resources, and seminar programs.

We share information on the tenure and promotion process, news about jobs, and details of child care. We discuss legislation and litigation; we follow grievance proceedings, tenure and promotion hearings, and notorious sexual harassment cases. We compare notes on departments and disciplines, their treatment of women, and their hospitability to feminism and feminist scholarship. We discuss participation in the life of the university: teaching, advising, writing, publishing, serving on committees. We look for ways to make bridges among women despite differences of class, color, education, rank, position, and politics. We seek generalizations about the ways we've found to survive and thrive. This subtext glosses the business of being women in the academy, a man-made institution whose political and social conditions, along with those of the feminist movement, constitute the foundation for feminist scholarship within the academy. Women's continual subtextual talk attempts the impossible task of mediating between these two different sites, enabling us sometimes to elude disciplinary and other constraints and meet as members of what I have elsewhere rather optimistically called Alma Mater's sorority.

Some specific tasks will help us understand and change the conditions of our institutionalization. We need to know the history of our institutions: how the shifts between public and private have come about, how diversity has historically been handled. We need to become habituated to looking behind daily practice, to deconstructing everyday life. We need continuously to identify and explicate contradictions. We need to identify how political, ideological and biological arguments construct and maintain established hierarchies. We need to have a vision, but function strategically as well. As Mao said, "Dig tunnels deep – store grain everywhere." And we need to maintain constant vigilance, living a dualistic existence in which we do our work but retain a mild paranoid edge. There may be few Herr Professors spending 17-hour days

attended by loving women. But no matter what a university says, you can be sure that even as we speak, someone somewhere is building a squirrel park.

Notes

1 Portions of this paper are adapted from my essay "Alma Mater's Sorority" (Treichler 1985).

2 For Discussion see Flexner (1968) and the many additional references cited in Treichler (1985).

3 Jespersen continues: "[Havelock] Ellis explains it this way: with the quick reader it is as though every statement were admitted immediately and without inspection to fill the vacant chambers of the mind, while with the slow reader every statement undergoes an instinctive process of cross-examination; every new fact seems to stir up the accumulated stores of facts among which it intrudes, and so impedes rapidity of mental action." Note that the phrase usually attributed to Jespersen is actually Ellis'.

Works Cited

Flexner, Eleanor. (1968). Century of Struggle: The Women's Rights Movement in the United States. New York: Atheneum.

Jespersen, Otto. (1964). Language. New York: Norton.

Treichler, Paula A. (1985). "Alma Mattter's Sorority: Women and the University of Illinois, 1890-1925," pp. 5-61 in For Alma Mater: Theory and Practice in Feminist Scholarship, ed. Paula A. Treichler, Cheris Kramarae, and Beth Stafford (Urbana: U of Illinois Press, 1985).

Appendix

Index, 1955:

> *Man*, see also *Person*
> *Person*, see also *Human Being, Man*
> *Persons*, see also *Men, People*
> *Wife*, see also *Adultress, Marriage, Woman*
> *Woman*, see also *Wife*

Feminist essay in Women's Studies International Forum, 1985:

> Asian American women have . . . been victimized in historical accounts and current literature. . . . A search of historical literature on Hawaii reveals that Asian and Pacific women are not mentioned except in stereotypical categories, such as "picture brides," "mothers," "prostitutes," "war brides," "entertainers," and "queens."

Examples of illustrative material taken at random from Keith Allen, *Linguistics*, 1986:

> *Discussion of singular and plural*
> The committee is/are composed of notable scholars.
> The committee consists/consist of both men and women.
> The committee contains/contain many men of distinction. (p. 128)
>
> *Discussion of literal vs. idiomatic meaning*
> The prime minister is an old woman.
> If the prime minister is Gladstone, this means:
> The prime minister is a man who complains too much and is overconcerned with trivia.
> If the prime minister is Golda Meir, this means:
> The prime minister is a woman of advancing years. (67-68)

Discussion of meaning-changing transformations
a. John even kissed Kate!
b. Kate was even kissed by John.
c. Máisie didn't shoot her husband.
d. Maisie didn't shóot her husband. (290-92)

Discussion of progressive tense marking
Will is hunting for deer.
Percy is holidaying in France.
He's telephoning her now.
She is crying. (334)

Discussion of novel or untrue but grammatical sentences
John insisted that the smallest prime number is 2.
John diagonalized the differential manifold.
Almond Eyes ate her Kornies and listened to the radio. (41-42)

Reflections on Women in Linguistics[1]

Amy Sheldon
University of Minnesota

In preparing my remarks for this opening session of the conference on Women in the Linguistics Profession, I thought it would be useful to frame some basic issues by posing the following questions, "Why should we have a conference on women in linguistics?" "What do we already know about women in linguistics and what more do we need to or want to know?" My purpose in these few minutes is not to answer these and other questions about the meaning of gender for linguistics as a discipline, but rather to ask what have heretofore been unmentioned, unmentionable and hard to mention questions about women and gender in our field, that is, to open up a place for us to begin to examine such questions.

Women and men in any academic discipline function in at least four areas (Bordo forthcoming). First, we see our primary function as *intellectual*: to explore and understand our subject matter. The subject matter of linguistics is the study of language from two broad perspectives: one perspective is the description of the properties of linguistic systems, of grammars, of language; the second perspective is the description of how individuals and cultures use linguistic systems as well as how a linguistic system is shaped by individuals and cultures. The second area in which we function is *institutional*. We function within particular institutional arrangements both within the linguistics profession and within our particular universities, which have a long-standing history from which women, until recently, were almost entirely absent, absent as shaping forces of disciplinary and academic institutions and absent as intellectual consumers, i.e. as students. Third, we function in a *sociological and cultural* context, in the broad and narrow sense. In the broad sense we are members of groups beyond our profession and beyond

academia, and in the narrow sense we are held to cultural practices within our profession and our postsecondary institutions. The fourth area in which we function is the *psychological*, which encompasses our own particular personal histories. Therefore, in undertaking a conference about women in linguistics, we need to explore *woman-focused* issues in all four of these contexts: the intellectual, the institutional, the sociocultural and the psychological, as well as at the intersections of these areas.

Feminist scholars and others have pointed out that gender is the primary category by which the social world is organized (Hare-Mustin and Marecek 1988). In other words, everything is gendered. How are each of the four areas that I mentioned bound by our culture's gender ideology? Gender ideology prescribes particular practices, for example, the acceptability of sexually harassing women, or the double standard of expecting women to be more nurturing and therefore more accessible to students, colleagues and family than men, to name just a few of the ways in which our lives are gendered. To what extent does gender ideology permeate the structures and practices in our intellectual, institutional, sociocultural and psychological spheres? How are we all shaped by this gender ideology, in what ways do we all perpetuate it, and to what extent can we change it so that our lives are less limited?

One answer to the question of "Why should we have a conference on *women* in linguistics?" is that we have important things to say to each other and to the profession when we take a *woman-centered* approach to professional issues, and that we don't or can't say these things in our everyday professional interactions. In other words, underlying this conference is the assumption that women's realities, women's perspectives, women's histories, women's concerns in each of these aspects of the discipline are different from men's in important ways. In addition, women's realities,

perspectives, histories, and concerns are not well integrated into or addressed in the discipline's public history and daily discourse. Consequently, they deserve special attention. This is because the institutional, sociocultural and intellectual spheres in which we function are largely or exclusively male cultures which often are antithetical to women's interests, or do not take women's points of view. It is difficult to always recognize this, but I hope that the sense in which I mean it will become clear.

Hence, women in linguistics need time and space to reflect on, to explore, and to discover what we care about as *women* in our profession. To do this, we need to create a community of women in which we can interpret to each other the multiplicity of what it means to be a woman in linguistics. What will be the effect of thinking about the place of gender in our academic lives? The answers to this question also, I hope, will become clearer.

Having framed the conference as I see it in terms of these general remarks, I would like to add remarks of a more personal and intimate nature. I have long been puzzled by the fact that my own discipline has remained largely untouched by the intellectual revolution resulting from feminist theory and scholarship which has been at work for years in such fields as literature, epistemology and other subfields of philosophy, anthropology, psychology, sociology, history, political theory, film and the fine arts, and critiques of science. It has seemed to me that there are insights from feminist scholarship that also apply to the philosophical foundations of linguistics. I just have time to mention a few of these avenues of inquiry here as a way of suggesting future directions for feminist inquiry in linguistics.

1. Feminist scientists and philosophers of science (e.g. Bleier 1984, Bordo 1986, Harding 1986, Keller 1987) argue that objectivity and scientific neutrality are connected to masculinist

psychological processes. In short, in their view, the scientific *point of view* as we know it is gendered. The search for knowledge as well as interpretation and understanding is gendered. Feminist critiques of science, according to Keller (1987:234) "all claim that science embodies a strong androcentric bias", a charge which can be interpreted in various ways in various disciplines. Keller points out that corrections to this bias are needed in the form of 'critical self-reflection' on the ways in which science is the product of a gendered social system and the ways in which masculinist ideology in particular has influenced scientific methodology and theory. The work of critical self-reflection in a discipline is to "distinguish that which is parochial from that which is universal in the scientific impulse, reclaiming for women what has historically been denied to them; and to legitimate those elements of scientific culture that have been denied precisely because they are defined as female" (Keller 1987:237-38).

2. Feminists in sociology (Stacey and Thorne 1985:309) have observed that fields that are defined by positivistic epistemologies, (e.g. psychology or economics) are more resistant to feminist critiques, than fields that use an interpretivist approach to knowledge (e.g. anthropology, literature or history). They also mention that the 'objectifying stance,' the separation of knower and known, has been linked by people such as Habermas and Keller to our culture's masculinist ideology of 'control and power'.

3. The connections between the making of meaning, the institutionalization of power, the representation of reality, and the central place that masculinist thought and language have in

> both scholarly as well as popular culture – as seen in the greater access to written language that men have, their control over the print and electronic media, their authority as arbiters of language usage and their folkloric disparagement of female speech styles – have been explored throughout the history of feminist scholarship, most recently by feminist postmodernists and social constructionists (e.g. Hare-Mustin and Marechek 1988).

Surely the fruits of feminist scholarship in these and other areas of inquiry have some bearing on linguistics. It is puzzling why a 'critical self-reflection' has not taken hold in our field. I attribute the largely unexplored connection between linguistics and feminist thought to be partly due to the fact that women in linguistics have entered and continue to enter the field and go about our business believing that it is neither necessary nor politically feasible to take the fact that we are women into consideration in linguistics as it is currently constructed or as it could be constructed in the future. The high visibility of women students (who account for about half of our graduate student population) and the high visibility of women faculty in the field might also be tacitly interpreted to mean that linguistics is a field in which everything is "all right", that it is **possible** for women to go about our business without **needing** to give a second thought to the fact that we are women and how that shapes our lives. For many people, the presence of women is taken as a sign that a woman can pass in the male culture of universities without paying any price for either impersonating male behaviors and denying female behaviors and realities, or that women can pass strictly by being our own womanly selves. In short, the field shapes women to expect to not have to deal with being women in a public way, or in any way, and that all problems that befall us will be of our own making, due to our own personal inadequacies rather than the way our culture socially constructs gender. Consistent with this

is the fact that there are very few women (or men) in linguistics who pursue their degrees and research precisely to study the connection *between language and* the social construction of gender. In response to these observations, I ask, "Why?"

My own history in the field encompasses both types of women: initially, I assumed that I could go about my business with gender being irrelevant to being a linguist, a woman linguist. Subsequently, I have been forced to see that gender is part of everything. My research program in language acquisition has begun to incorporate questions of how gender socialization becomes part of language socialization. I was able to pursue this work in 1988-89 at the Society for the Humanities at Cornell (as did Paula Treichler) because the Society chose to devote its resources to a year of major conferences, lectures, discussions, seminars, and other activities which were focused on feminist theory. My point is that the study of gender can thrive when it has institutional support. In contrast, we in linguistics go about our daily business outside of the local, national, and international networks of feminist scholarship, uninformed about the transformative insights, the disciplinary critiques, or the amount of feminist scholarly activity and publication in various disciplines.

My reorientation as an academic woman followed from the changes in my life and in our society since my graduate school days. These personal and cultural changes falsified for me the myth of gender neutrality. I spent my graduate student and pre-tenure years as a single woman. I have spent my post-tenure years as a married woman with two daughters who were born less than three years apart. My view of everything both personal and professional was greatly affected by physical, psychological and social changes of state as a parent. These were changes of material reality. They involved daily – hourly struggles to be a good mother and to sustain a demanding career as a good

experimental psycholinguist in an institutional and societal culture that largely ignores the importance and hard labor of mothering (and fathering). One's feminine consciousness has a way of undergoing radical shifts in proportion to what we suffer in a culture that devalues girls and women, and that devalues women's work.

Women in the professions, out of necessity, become good 'shape-shifters'[2], code-switchers, and performers of double workloads. As mothers we develop these skills because mothers are the chief executive officers of the family. We are the mothers who, because our university has no maternity leave policy, correct final exams three days after giving birth and return almost immediately to the classroom. We are the mothers who have not had a full night of sleep for two-and-one-half years because our child does not sleep through the night or because the only free time we have to prepare classes and write is when everyone else at home is asleep. We are the mothers who take time from our research and teaching to be the unsung architects of new university maternity leave policies or university day care policies and facilities so that future parents can lead postpartum lives that are slightly saner. We are the mothers who undergo numerous operations that our colleagues never hear about in order to restore fertility. I have used the woman-as-mother in these examples because I know the role well. But we can just as well talk about the shapeshifting of single women, older women, gay women, women of color, or disabled women. The shapeshifting that all women in linguistics have tacitly learned as graduate students and new Ph.D.s is to both do our jobs well and walk the mine field of being the outsider in a male culture. The feminine voice often is the minority voice in departmental faculty meetings, the unprivileged newcomer to the university and its networks and repositories of survival information. We shape-shift and code-switch to survive in institutional and sociological structures and practices that were not originally designed for women and in which the realities

of our lives often do not fit. It is a mark of our successful incorporation into the male academic culture that when we actually do have a conference on women in linguistics I am self-conscious of breaking a taboo, the taboo of calling attention to myself/ourselves as women. We are taking risks in breaking long-held silences in linguistics by talking about how our femininity affects every part of our lives, from our graduate student lives, the job search, the tenure review, our teaching evaluations, how we are (mis)perceived or ignored in our universities, the topics of our research, our time in rank, our collegial relations, the juggling of employment with personal lives, and so on. Indeed, the the personal is political. Our survival in the profession has crucially depended on demonstrating that women are as intellectually capable as men. Yet our mental health also depends on exploring the real ways in which women's lives do exact different things from us compared to what men's lives exact from them. Our health depends on recognizing how the institutional settings we work in have long excluded us. We are poignantly aware of the prices we and our friends have paid as women in linguistics. We need to make discussions of women, such as those that will take place here, an acceptable part of our daily public discourse, if we hope to figure out how to make our work places and work lives more sensitive to women's needs.

Therefore, in my opinion, this conference will be successful if as a result of it we discover some new clarity in the presence of the complexities we are going to explore, if we discover new questions, new information, new challenges and areas of inquiry, if we discover commonalities as well as differences in what we had previously thought were our personal, idiosyncratic dilemmas. In short, success will be seeing new perspectives as a result of putting women at the center of our focus, as both the inquiring subject and the interpreted object.

Since an NSF-Cornell sponsored conference on women in linguistics is a statement that what we are about to do here is legitimate and important, it is my hope that our efforts achieve disciplinary legitimacy as well, among ourselves as well as among colleagues who are not here. A woman-centered inquiry into the intellectual, institutional, sociocultural and psychological processes of being a woman in linguistics should continue as a project that we actively give a future to, beyond this conference.

Notes

[1] Thanks are due to Paula Treichler for her comments on an earlier version of this paper.

[2] A term used by Rayna Green in a plenary talk at the Georgetown University bicentennial conference on Women in America, April, 1989.

References

Ruth Bleier. 1984. Science and gender: A critique of biology and its theories on women. New York: Pergamon Press.

Susan R. Bordo. 1986. The Cartesian masculinization of thought. Signs 11.436-456.

Susan R. Bordo. forthcoming. Feminism, postmodernism and gender-sceptism. The politics of method, ed. by Linda Nicholson. New York: Routledge.

Sandra Harding. 1986. The science question in feminism. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Rachel T. Hare-Mustin and Jeanne Marecek. 1988. The meaning of difference: Gender theory,

postmodernism, and psychology. American Psychologist 43.455-464.

Evelyn Fox Keller. 1987. Feminism and science. Sex and scientific inquiry, ed. by Sandra Harding and Jean. F. O'Barr, 233-246. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Carolyn Woods Sherif. 1979. Bias in psychology. The prism of sex: Essays in the sociology of knowledge, ed. by Julia A. Sherman and Evelyn Torton Beck. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Judith Stacey and Barrie Thorne. 1985. The missing revolution in sociology. Social Problems 32.301-316.

Naomi Weisstein. 1971. Psychology constructs the female, or the fantasy life of the male psychologist. Roles women play: Readings toward women's liberation, ed. by Michele H. Garskof, 68-83. Belmont, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Co.

The Structure of the Field and its Consequences for Women[1]

Frederick J. Newmeyer
University of Washington

In December of 1924, 29 prominent linguists met in New York City at the American Museum of Natural History to sign a 'call' for a society devoted exclusively to the scientific study of language. The time had come, they felt, to break away from the Modern Language Association, the Philosophical Society, and other organizations that were no longer adequate to the needs of a discipline that was rapidly developing its own professional identity.

All 29 of the participants were male. One's first thought might be that this fact was a simple consequence of there being no prominent women linguists at the time. But such was not the case. At least two women, Louise Pound and Cornelia Catlin Coulter, were in accomplishment and stature uncontroversially the equal of the majority of the 29 men. There were other women scholars who arguably deserved a place among the first dozen or two linguists in America.

Why then were there no women present at the founding meeting of the Linguistic Society of America? Martin Joos, in his history of the Society, gives a candid explanation: 'Family reasons' (1986:9) prevented women from attending. It was apparently unthinkable 65 years ago that a woman with a family could leave husband and children for a couple days, even for such a momentous occasion as founding what would soon become the largest professional body of linguists in the world.

The pressures that women felt in the early years of the LSA came as much from within the organization as from society at large. In 1942, Louise Pound, the prominent

American dialectologist, resigned from the LSA to found the journal *American Speech*. Joos attributes her resignation 'to outrage at the routine ignoring of all female scholars' (1986:9) by the LSA and its organ *Language*.

It is impossible to pin down precisely the extent to which this 'routine ignoring' took place, since one cannot estimate with any precision the number of practicing women linguists in the interwar years. Most LSA members then, as now, would not have identified themselves primarily as 'linguists' and there were practically no independent linguistics departments to provide data for tabulation. Still, we can assume that women linguists met the same fate as women in other branches of the humanities in this period. It is not widely known, but conditions for women in academia worsened in the first half of the century. There were fewer women faculty (in all areas) in 1962 than in 1890, the percentage declining from 27% to 22% (Pollard 1977:191). Likewise, while 15% of all Ph. D.s were awarded to women in 1930, only 8% were in 1950. The percentage did not rise above the 1930 level until the mid 1970s (Wasserman, et al. 1975:3).

The bulk of the loss for women was in the departments of the humanities, where by the turn of the century they had established a beachhead in academia. Every imaginable excuse was used to drive women from the universities. Perhaps the most insidious was that of 'professionalization', an excuse that we have seen recently in schools of social work. The underlying idea is that the professional stature of a field is inversely proportional to the number of women in it.

Nepotism laws, which had become increasingly common by the 1920s, also worked to the disadvantage of women, since they invariably led to the forced resignation of female professors whose husbands taught at the same university. Thereby arose the phenomenon of the

husband-wife 'team', in which the husband received the job, the glory, and the salary, and the wife (if she was lucky) a joint authorship of some publications.

Third, the depression led to hiring cutbacks and an atmosphere in which it was considered 'unfair' to hire a woman when so many qualified men were jobless. And finally, in the aftermath of the Second World War, academia was no different from any other area of employment. The returning GI's, the great majority of whom were male, were felt to have 'earned' the available jobs, many of which had been filled by women during the hostilities.

As a consequence, by the 1950s, a younger woman professor – even in a humanities department – had become an anomaly. And it is therefore hardly surprising that women linguists, in a period in which linguistics was regarded as a central discipline in the humanities, should have met the same fate as their sisters in departments of literature, history, and the arts.

The field, however, began to undergo a significant change in the late 1940s, a change that accelerated greatly in the 1950s and 1960s. More and more emphasis was placed on methodology and synchronic analysis, as first Bloch and Harris and later Chomsky and his associates set high standards of rigor and formalism for linguistic descriptions. By the late 1960s, symbol manipulation, the search for abstract patterns in data, and broad theorizing had come to characterize the most prestigious area of linguistics. Thus linguistics had begun to take on a cast that was antithetical to the humanities as they had been traditionally conceived, but had more in common with the practice in mathematics and the natural sciences, fields that were (and still are) virtually all male.

This shift in orientation of the field had important implications for women. The most important derives from the fact that to the outside world, linguistics was still perceived as a humanity. Thus women continued to enter the field – and remain in it – in large numbers, as they never did in, say, mathematics. I will return to explore the consequences of this fact below.

It is interesting, but perhaps not surprising, that quite a few of the earliest female contributors to generative grammar had strong backgrounds in psychology. In the 1940s and 1950s, only two academic areas grew in their percentage of women: psychology and education. Linguistics was enriched by women entering it from these fields. Thus the interdisciplinary fields of psycholinguistics and applied linguistics, which came into their own in the early 1960s, had high percentages of women from the very beginning. Until recently, very few of these women had actually been trained in linguistics departments.

The field, of course, has never been monolithic in orientation. The 1960s saw the development of a pole of attraction away from the abstract theorizing of generative grammar. Most importantly, sociolinguistics came into prominence at this time. Sociolinguistics was very much a by-product of contemporary social movements: struggles for national liberation in the Third World, the black and minority movements in the United States, the anti-war movement, which led many to examine social divisions in this country, and (from the early 1970s) the women's movement.

At first, parallelling the situation in other social sciences, virtually all sociolinguists were male. But a view of language came out of sociolinguistics that was congenial to many women, who saw in this subfield the possibility of integrating social and linguistic concerns in a way that generative grammar could never allow them to do. For while generative grammar explores the

question of why languages are as similar to each other as they are, sociolinguistics focusses on diversity and differences, and thereby invites a search for the linguistic basis of sexual and other inequality.

The great bulk of scholarly writing on language and gender has involved empirical studies, investigating such questions as gender differences in verbal interaction, the role of women in language change, the nature and use of the female register, gender roles in bilingual communities, and so on. The vast majority of this work has been carried out by women scholars.

Others, however, have not been content simply to document the situation; rather they have attempted to reconstitute a feminist linguistics. Seeing language as the primary mechanism by which misogyny is constructed and transmitted, some feminists – more influenced by phenomenology and continental structuralism than by any mainstream current in the field of linguistics – have analyzed language itself as an instrument of patriarchy and oppression.

While such an approach has generated a considerable literature and has been highly influential within the feminist community, it has had little effect on the field of linguistics itself, even on sociolinguistics. In fact, the feminist intellectual critique of linguistics has exerted less influence on this field than comparable critiques have exerted on, say, literary criticism, political science, sociology, or anthropology.

The reason for this is surely that the critique only rarely impinges on issues under debate in the field, and where it does, it is shared by many linguistis, whether feminist or not. For example, while some feminists might attack the notion of an abstract 'linguistic competence' for devaluing and isolating language, so too do other (not necessarily feminist) linguists from a variety of orientations.

Only rarely do we find a feminist critique of specific positions taken within linguistic theory proper that would not also appear in the general critical literature. So, for example, Deborah Cameron, in her *Feminism and Linguistic Theory* (1985), attacks componential analysis and markedness for imposing a dichotomous view of the world that, she feels, can only work to the disadvantage of women.

We do find, however, established linguists appealing to feminist criteria in support of positions that they had already arrived at for other reasons. Perhaps the best known example is Robin Lakoff (1975) attacking interpretive semantics (i.e. the 'Extended Standard Theory' version of transformational grammar) for not being able to account for the oddness of the sentence John is Mary's widower. In her view, the generative semantic theory that she advocated at the time, by incorporating social facts into the grammar itself, was able to treat this sentence adequately.

Perhaps the most curious example of a post facto feminist motivation for an established position is found in Hintikka and Hintikka (1983). They argue that most versions of model theoretical semantics are 'sexist' because they posit a domain of discrete individuals. Only males, as they see it, tend to think in terms of independent discrete units; females are more sensitive to relational characteristics. At it turns out, their conclusion is quite congenial to the approach developed earlier in Jaakko Hintikka's book *Knowledge and Known* (1974), in which he abandons an individual-based ontology for a more interactive one.

Robin Lakoff, by the way, has made proposals which, if implemented, would drastically affect the organization and structure of the field in so far as women are concerned. In a 1974 paper, she speculated that women might be 'inherently' indisposed to formalism; if so it

could only be 'criminal' to attract them to generative grammar. And now, in a paper to appear in *Journal of Pragmatics*, she takes an explicitly biologist view of women's supposed inability to master formal linguistics. In a review of the 1970s debate between generative semantics and interpretive semantics, she describes the former as inherently 'interactive' and 'feminine', the latter as 'hierarchical' and 'masculine'. Indeed, she appeals to the 'feminine' nature of generative semantics as the primary factor that contributed to its downfall.

In any event, it seems fair to say that a very small percentage of women in linguistics, even those in subareas maintaining close contacts with the humanities and social sciences, are involved in addressing what one might call 'women's issues concerning language'. This presents quite a contrast with black linguists, who, at least in the United States, generally practice a 'race-related' linguistics, focussing on such issues as Black English, pidgins and creoles, and African languages.

Feminist linguists have tended to take a 'women-in-science' approach. That is, in their scholarly work they do not challenge the foundations of the field any more than a female mathematician or physicist would. Rather, they attempt to better the status of women within the field in hiring and promotion decisions and to improve the presentation of women by the field, say, by calling for the elimination of sexist language from example sentences.

When we look at the representation of women in different branches of the field, we find some expected correlations and some surprises. It does not strike one as odd, for example, that a higher percentage of women work in child language acquisition than in mathematical linguistics, given the well understood ways that girls and women are channelled in our society. But it seems rather surprising that so many women have

contributed to experimental phonetics, from Eli Fischer-Jorgensen and Ilse Lehiste, who were trained decades ago, to a huge number working in this area today. One's first thought, given the usual stereotypes, is that it would be one of the last areas of linguistics to attract women, since it involves knowledge of physics and the mastery of formidable machinery. I have no explanation to offer for why women have played the role in experimental phonetics that they have.

The fact that the field of linguistics is so small, and its subfields even smaller, makes it difficult in many cases to derive women's representation in it from socially significant facts. For example, the fact that a higher percentage of women syntacticians do lexical-functional grmmar (LFG) than government-binding (GB) or generalized phrase structure grammar (GPSG) is clearly due more to personal influences and role models than to the intrinsic content of these frameworks or to the social channelling of women linguists.

It is not the place of this essay to compare the percentage of women in linguistics with that in other fields or to provide current statistics documenting the status of women within the discipline. But it seems uncontroversially true that for a technical field, women have achieved a relatively high degree of prominence. The percentage of women in mathematics, physics, and even (or especially) analytic philosophy is far lower than in even the most technical subfields of linguistics. As an anecdotal confirmation of this claim, in the five-person short list for a recent position in formal semantics at the University of Washington, the top three candidates were women.

I am certain that the relative success of women in formal linguistics is not a consequence of male linguists being inherently less sexist than men in other fields. Rather, it results from more women entering linguistics than other technical fields. This, in turn, is a consequence of there

being much more mystery about what work in linguistics involves than work in, say, math or the physical sciences. Since in the popular mind linguistics is not a 'man's discipline' involving supposedly 'male skills', women are not dissuaded by social pressure from seeking careers in linguistic theory. And once embarked in a program of study in this field, women, not surprisingly, find that the subject matter and mode of argumentation presents them with no intrinsic obstacles to success.

These observations lead me to close on a more speculative note. In a little-known paper, Joseph Greenberg (1973) has pointed out that linguistics has always acted as a pilot science for the social sciences and the humanities. The historical and comparative linguistics of the nineteenth century led to attempts to apply the same methods to construct 'proto' legal systems, mythologies, and cultures. Structural linguistics spawned structural analysis in anthropology, psychology, and literary criticism. And generative grammar has led social scientists to seek out 'deep structures' and 'universals' in their own fields of study.

Perhaps linguistics can act as a 'pilot science' in a rather different way, not for the social sciences but for the natural sciences. The level of formalism and abstract mathematical reasoning can be as high in linguistics as in the physical sciences. And clearly, women not only do well, but have made outstanding contributions, in every area of formal linguistics. Now linguists, in particular generative grammarians, are very conscious of their 'image' problem. While the goals and means of theory formulation and justification are parallel to those of the natural sciences, few natural scientists are aware of this fact. To be sure, they tend to react skeptically when analogies between theoretical linguistics and their fields are drawn. A recurrent problem, therefore, is finding a way to convince natural scientists that theoretical linguists are a lot like them.

But there is a profound way that linguistics is not like natural science. Again, the percentage of women is far higher in the former than in the latter. This is another fact that linguists can advertise in their dialogues with natural scientists. Since the same types of reasoning and analytic skills are used in linguistics as in the natural sciences, then linguists can be instrumental in demolishing the lingering myth that women are inherently unsuited to be scientists.

Notes

1 I would like to thank Alice Davison, Joe Emonds, Randy Harris, Laurence Horn, Ellen Kaisse, Patricia Keating, Joan Maling, Craige Roberts, and Sol Saporta for their input into this paper.

References

Cameron, Deborah. 1985. Feminism and linguistic theory. New York: Macmillan.

Greenberg, Joseph. 1973. Linguistics as a pilot science. Themes in linguistics: the 1970's. ed. by E. Hamp. The Hague: Mouton, 45-60.

Hintikka, Jaakko. 1974. Knowledge and known. Dordrecht: Reidel.

Hintikka, Merrill and Jaakko Hintikka. 1983. How Can Language be Sexist? Discovering reality. ed. by S. Harding and M. Hintikka. Dordrecht: Reidel, 139-148.

Joos, Martin. 1986. Notes on the development of the Linguistic Society of America 1924 to 1950. Ithaca:

privately printed by J.M. Cowan and C. Hockett.

Lakoff, Robin. 1974. Pluralism in linguistics. Berkeley studies in syntax and semantics. Vol. 1.

Lakoff, Robin. 1975. Language and woman's place. New York: Harper and Row.

Lakoff, Robin. To appear. The Way We Were. Journal of pragmatics.

Pollard, Lucille. 1977. Women on college and university faculties. New York: Arno Press.

Wasserman, Elga, Arie Lewin, and Linda Bleiweis (eds.). 1975. Women in Academia. New York: Praeger.

Part 2

Women in Linguistics
The Numbers

The Status of Women in Linguistics

Patti Jo Price
SRI International

[Editors' note: This report was commissioned by the LSA in 1982 and based on data gathered in that year. Although it was partially summarized in the June 1984 issue of the LSA Bulletin (No. 104), it has never been published in full. We felt that this volume is the ideal opportunity to make this report available to the community, with the understanding of course that the states of affairs that it reflects may have changed in the past eight years.]

0. Introduction

This is a report summarizing and discussing data on women in linguistics. The data primarily concern students and faculty members at academic institutions in the U.S. and Canada. The project was carried out under the auspices of the LSA Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics and the Executive Committee of the LSA.

1. Where Did the Data Come From?

The LSA "Survey of Students and Faculty in Linguistics" (hereafter abbreviated SSF), sent to 202 U.S. and Canadian department or program chairs in linguistics in March 1982, was the principal source of data. Representatives from 170 institutions responded. Of these, 123 reported faculty or students in linguistics. These data can be assumed to provide fairly good coverage of the departments and programs in linguistics: the 1982 "Directory of Programs in Linguistics" lists only 137 institutions in the U.S. and Canada that grant degrees in linguistics. Other sources of data include: "Summary Report of Doctorate Recipients from U.S. Universities" 1955-1981 (abbreviated SRD), "Earned

Degrees Conferred by Higher Educational Institutions" published by HEW Office of Education 1955-1976 (abbreviated EDC), "Digest of Education Statistics 1978-1981" (abbreviated DES), "Directory of Programs in Linguistics in the U.S. and Canada 1980, 1982 (abbreviated DPL), "An Assessment of Research-Doctorate Programs in the U.S.: Humanities 1982 (abbreviated ARD), and "Present and Future Needs for Specialists in Linguistics and the Uncommonly Taught Languages" (abbreviated PFN) by M. M. Levy, J. B. Carroll and A. H. Roberts, Center for Applied Linguistics, LSA, 1976 (based on 1973 data).

2. What is Covered by the Data?

SSF provided data on (1) students enrolled in linguistics programs by degree (B.A., M.A., Ph.D.) and sex, (2) degrees granted by degree and sex, (3) faculty by rank (lecturer, assistant, associate, full), status (full-time, part-time), tenure (with, without) and sex. The DPL, EDC, DES, and SRD sources were used to estimate variability and reliability of the data. The ARD source was used in a rough ranking of the institutions and both ARD and SRD were used as aids in interpreting the data. PFN data (from 1973) is compared, where possible, with the present data. Research institutions listed in the 1980 DPL were contacted in order to obtain some data on linguists in less academic environments.

3. How Reliable are the Data?

As with most linguistic data, the clear picture we would like to present is clouded because things change and because things resist our categorization. As a check on the data reported we compared the faculty figures to data for the same year appearing in DPL 1982. For Ph.D.s granted, we compared these figures to those in SRD 1981. The data for M.A.s and B.A.s granted were compared to those appearing in DES 1980 (the 1981 data are apparently not available at this writing, 1983). The

two sets of figures for faculty members differed by 5% or less with the exception of the number of women at the assistant professor level. The 20 linguistics departments other than those included in the top 24 (by the ARD ranking) were chosen as a "representative" sample for analysis. This group reported 65% of their assistant professors were women, while the names listed in the 1982 DPL indicate a proportion of women at this level for this group of 55%. The 1973 (PFN) data also indicated that women were better represented when only numbers were reported than when names were listed. This discrepancy may arise due to different criteria for inclusion (for example, adjunct faculty or faculty not funded by the department may have been treated differently, and it may be that these categories are more likely to be filled by women).

For the degrees granted, the figures from SSF and those from other sources differ by 1 to 8%. The discrepancies between the two sets of figures for M.A. and B.A.s arise in part because the two sets of data are from different years. They may also differ because of differences in whether degrees in English as a Second Language were included or not. When the reports from department or program chairs separated linguistics degrees from ESL degrees, we counted only degrees in linguistics. There is no way of knowing, however, whether some ESL degrees were included in some of the SSF data or not. The figures for these reliability checks appear in Table I.

The reliability of the data tends to be better for the 'Linguistics Departments' than for the 'Departments of Linguistics and x' or for 'Programs' or 'Committees' in Linguistics in that the departments showed a slightly higher response rate, involved fewer categorization problems, and had fewer missing data points. Different departments defined the terms differently: Some included as part-time those faculty members who were part-time in the university, others included those who were part-time in the department; some counted

emeritus professors as part-time, while others did not list them at all.

Table I. Reliability checks.

(A) Faculty positions: women as a percent of totals at 20 linguistics departments other than the 'top 24'. Part-time personnel are counted equally with full-time positions, since these are not distinguished in the DPL data.

	Assistant	Associate	Full
source			
SSF	67	18	13
DPL1982	57	20	15

(B) Degrees granted at all U.S. institutions. Parentheses indicate 1979-1980 figures. Some TEFL/TESL degrees may be included in the SSF data.

	B.A.	M.A.	Ph.D.
No. of women			
SSF	323	354	76
DES,SRD	(418)	(314)	78
% of women (of totals)			
SSF	71	68	45
DES,SRD	76	60	44

Missing data were replaced with the mean for that cell calculated across available data points. The missing data most often corresponded to number of students and degrees granted presented as a total and not broken down by sex.

Other limitations of these data are that post-doctoral and other research positions are, in general, omitted, and that linguists in other departments may not be reported by the person filling out the form. Some data, however, are included on linguists at research institutions. This set of institutions, however, is not very homogeneous and the number of linguists employed is rather small.

4. What Types of Institutions are Represented?

The ARD (1982) source was used to rank 24 institutions. These ranks are basically by peer review of linguistics departments by linguistics faculty members of various ranks. The publication should be consulted for details, but a few remarks are in order here. The criteria for selection of the 35 departments that faculty members were asked to rank were (a) more than 5 Ph.D.s granted in the 1976-1978 period, or (b) more than 2 Ph.D.s awarded in 1979, or (c) a high rank in previous ratings. Because of these criteria some schools were included in the sample which were small, not well-known, or both (if, for example, they happened to produce 3 Ph.D.s in 1979). Both inter-rater reliability and the confidence ratings of the respondents show that the rankings are not very reliable for departments that were not highly ranked in the set. We felt that it was inappropriate to include as 'ranked' those universities with unreliable rankings: they more appropriately belong in the set of 'unranked' departments or programs. The division between the 'top 12' and the rest of the ranked set was based on the results of the mean ratings and their standard errors: the mean for the department ranked '12th' was more than 3 standard errors from the mean for the department ranked '13th', while this situation did not generally hold for departments of similar rank within the two groups (see Figure 8.3 in ARD).

All of the 'top 12' departments responded; eleven of the 'next 12' responded. Twenty other departments who

called themselves "Linguistics Departments" or "Departments of Linguistics" were grouped together (abbreviated 'other lx' in Table II). Ten institutions called "Linguistics and x" (where 'x' is "special languages", "languages", "English", "ESL", etc.) were grouped (abbreviated 'lx & x' in Table II). Institutions that were already included among the ranked institutions were not included in this grouping. The 37 programs or committees on linguistics were grouped (abbreviated 'prog' in Table II). There were also 17 departments other than linguistics who responded that they employed linguists (e.g., sociology, anthropology, English, foreign languages). This group is abbreviated "other" in Table II. The 16 Canadian institutions (abbreviated "Can." in Table II) were grouped. Though some data on linguists employed at research institutions are included, this report concerns itself chiefly with women in linguistics at academic institutions. No computer science departments were included in the sample.

5. Summary of the Results

Table II is a summary of the data from SSF (1982). The top part of this table shows how women are represented as a percent of the totals, by category of institution. The middle part of the table shows women as percentages of totals (as above) in cumulatively larger groups. The bottom part of the table shows numbers of women in each of the categories. The parentheses in the two upper parts of the table indicate categories for which the total number of women is 10 or fewer. The column headed "N" indicates the number of institutions in each category. Faculty totals are full-time plus one-half of part-time personnel.

(A) Percentages of women

	N	Faculty			Students			Degrees Granted		
		Asst	Assoc	Full	BA	MA	PhD	BA	MA	PhD
top	12	(25)	(26)	12	76	51	53	68	55	37
next	11	53	(26)	(07)	55	60	57	76	63	49
other lx	20	65	(18)	(14)	68	60	60	70	74	(39)
lx&x	10	(36)	(08)	(20)	60	73	78	72	77	(50)
prog	37	40	21	13	64	70	61	73	71	67
other	17	44	(23)	(14)	63	85	(91)	72	(63)	
Canada	16	38	21	(04)	78	67	56	78	77	(71)

Table II. Women in Linguistics. Faculty figures represent number of full time personnel plus one-half of part-time personnel. Parentheses indicate figures for which the total number of women is 10 or fewer. The column headed "N" indicates the number of institutions included in each group. (A) presents data on women as a percentage of totals for each of the seven categories of institutions examined. (B) presents women as percentages as well, but grouped in progressively larger sets. (C) presents the absolute number of women present in each of the categories.

Table II (Cont.)

	Faculty				Students			Degrees Granted		
	N	Asst	Assoc	Full	BA	MA	PhD	BA	MA	PhD
(B) Cumulative Percents										
top 24	23	40	26	9	68	57	55	71	61	43
" + other lx	43	49	23	10	68	59	55	70	65	42
" + lx&x	53	47	20	11	65	63	56	70	67	43
" + prog	90	44	21	12	65	64	56	71	68	45
all US	107	44	21	12	65	65	56	71	68	45
" + Canada	123	43	21	11	68	66	56	73	68	47
(C) Numbers of women										
top	12	6.5	9.0	10.5	275	62	252	71	37	23
next	11	16.0	9.0	6.0	108	170	266	42	109	30
other lx	20	20.5	9.5	7.0	337	226	68	85	92	9
lx&x	10	6.0	1.5	6.0	304	229	14	31	54	2
prog	37	39.0	28.0	11.0	340	151	23	68	52	12
other	17	13.0	5.5	3.5	116	85	10	26	10	0
Canada	16	12.5	13.0	2.0	586	134	57	107	30	10
Totals	123	114.0	76.0	46.0	2066	1057	690	430	384	86

Table III shows the breakdown of the variables not shown in Table II (tenure and status). Unless otherwise noted, the specifics discussed below pertain to the grouped data for the 123 responding institutions. In what follows, the general results appear at the beginning of each section with the statistical support in later paragraphs.

Table III. Full-time/part-time employment and tenure

	Ass't	Assoc.	Full
% of faculty who are full-time			
of women	88	94	88
of men	92	90	91
% of part-time positions filled by women	62	15	17
% of faculty with tenure			
of women	23	94	96
of men	29	94	99

5.1 Faculty.

There are more than three times as many male as female full-time faculty members (795 men, 246 women). There are more full professors than associate professors than assistant professors for men (the numbers are 356, 270, and 143, respectively), while this distribution is reversed for women (these numbers are: 43 full professors, 73 associate professors and 103 assistant professors). Women are proportionately better represented at the assistant than at the associate professor level for all groupings except the 'top 12'. The cause for this discrepancy is not obvious. If women were under-represented because they were being promoted sooner here than elsewhere, one would expect a greater

proportion of women associate and full professor ranks than is found in the 'top 12' relative to the other groups. It is possible that the top-ranked departments, which tend to be the largest, have had fewer new slots to fill in recent years relative to the other institutions, which would explain the discrepancy. This explanation seems somewhat counter-intuitive: one might imagine a higher turn-over at larger institutions and more new slots at the top-ranked institutions. In fact, we have no data on the number of new positions in recent years.[1] A possible explanation, however, is that in these departments women are not being hired at the assistant professor level in any greater proportion than they were some years ago.

In addition to being distributed toward the lower end of faculty ranks and in the departments that are less highly rated, women are also more likely to be in part-time positions (see Table III). This was also true in 1973 (PFN).

A 4-way analysis of variance performed on the number of faculty members with the factors of sex, status (full-time, part-time), rank (lecturer, assistant, associate, full), and tenure revealed that all four main effects, and all interactions involving sex were highly significant ($p < 0.0001$).

Since, as seen in Table II, tenure is highly correlated with rank, the tenured and non-tenured positions within each rank were summed. Full-time equivalents were estimated by adding the full-time and one-half of the part-time positions. Since there was much confusion among the respondents as to whether T.A.s were lecturers or not, this rank was omitted. A two-way analysis of variance was then performed on the factors of sex and rank (assistant, associate, full). Both main effects and the interaction were highly significant ($p < 0.0004$ in all cases).

Another two-way analysis of variance was performed with the factors of sex and rank (assistant and associate only) in order to see if women are better represented at the assistant than at the associate level. The interaction of sex and rank is significant ($p<0.0001$), with a greater proportion of women represented at the assistant than at the associate professor level. Separate analyses of variance were conducted on all the cumulative groupings (as listed in part B of Table II). All but one of these showed a sex by rank interaction (significant to the $p<0.001$ level): women are better represented at the assistant than at the associate levels, while for men the reverse is true. The one exception is the cumulative grouping of the ranked departments. Similar analyses performed for the individual groups (as listed in the top part of Table II) revealed a significant interaction for only the two largest groups (the 37 'programs', $p<0.007$, and the 20 unranked linguistics departments, $p<0.002$).

5.2 Students.

It was noted in the 1973 (PFN) that women were increasing in numbers and in proportion among students and recent graduates. The present data show a continuation of this trend. Table II shows that a majority of B.A. students were women, and a majority of the B.A. degrees were granted to women. More than half of all M.A. students were women, and more than half of the M.A.s were granted to women. More than half of the Ph.D. students were women, and nearly half of the Ph.D.s were granted to women. The majority of the Ph.D. students in departments of 'linguistics and x' were women. Nearly all linguistics Ph.D. students who are in departments other than linguistics are women. A majority of Ph.D.s granted by linguistics programs and by Canadian institutions went to women. Women are not as well represented among those receiving Ph.D.s from the highly ranked departments as from other departments, a trend also apparant in the 1973 (PFN) data.

A three-way analysis of variance on the number of students with the factors of sex, student status (enrolled or graduating) and degree (B.A., M.A., Ph.D.) was performed. All main effects were highly significant ($p<0.0001$ in all cases), as were all interactions ($p<0.002$ in all cases). Specifically, the interaction of sex and level was highly significant ($p<0.0001$), with women more highly represented among students enrolled than among those graduating. The interaction of sex and degree was also highly significant ($p<0.0001$), such that women were better represented at the lower than at the higher degree levels. The interaction of degree and student status was also significant ($p=0.002$): the ratios of students to degrees granted differed for the three degrees. This interaction indicates, as expected, that there are more students enrolled per graduating student for Ph.D.s than for B.A.s. There was also a significant three-way interaction of sex, degree, and student status. Note that some institutions do not have M.A. students but may award an M.A. as a terminal degree, which complicates the interpretation of some of these data.

Finally, Ph.D.s were separated from the other two degrees for a two-way analysis of variance using the factors of sex and student status. Sex was nearly significant ($p=0.054$): there tended to be more women than men among Ph.D. students and degrees granted. Student status was, of course, significant ($p<0.0001$): there were 6.8 times as many students enrolled in Ph.D. programs as there were Ph.D.s granted. Sex interacted significantly with student status ($p=0.024$): for women, the enrolled-to-degree ratio is 8.1; for men it is 5.7. This difference may be due to the increase in the proportion of women in Ph.D. programs in the past ten years (SRD) and to the fact that women tend to take about one year longer than men to finish a Ph.D. program (SRD). That women are more likely to be supported by their own sources than are men (SRD), may partly explain this

discrepancy. Spouse support does not seem to be an important factor since women faculty and students in linguistics seem to be far less likely to be married than are men (PFN, SRD).

5.3 Student/Faculty Ratios.

There are 1.4 times as many women as men in the field. There is an average of 4.8 students per faculty member, with 11.4 female students per female faculty member, and 2.3 male students per male faculty member. When only Ph.D. students are considered, the ratio of women students to women professors is 2.1, for men students to men professors it is 0.6. Women are better represented among Ph.D. students than among assistant professors.

A two-way analysis of variance on the factors of sex and level (student or faculty) was performed. All main effects and interactions were highly significant ($p<0.0001$), showing that there is a greater concentration of men at the faculty than at the student level. A two-way analysis of variance on Ph.D. students and the assistant professors with the factors of sex and level revealed, again, a significant interaction of sex and level ($p=0.008$). That is, as noted, women are better represented among Ph.D. students than among assistant professors. This effect holds for all groupings where 90 or more institutions are included, though the trend is apparent everywhere.

Comparing Ph.D. students to faculty members of the same sex, the student-faculty ratios are: 6.1 (females) and 3.6 (males) for assistant professors; 9.1 (females) and 1.9 (males) for associate professors; and 15.0 (females) and 1.4 (males) for full professors. That is, there are, for example, 15 female Ph.D. students for every female full professor; 1.4 male Ph.D. students for every male full professor.

5.4 Women as Faculty Members.

One might expect the number of Ph.D.s granted to women to be a good predictor of the number of women assistant professors. The numbers of Ph.D.s granted in any one year, however, are rather small, and not necessarily representative of the proportions of men and women in the pool of applicants for any job. However, DPL reveals that, on the average, assistant professors got their degrees 3.7 years ago, the associate professors got their degrees 8.7 years ago, and full professors got their degrees 16.2 years ago. If one considers the percentage of Ph.D.s in linguistics granted to women over a 3 year period centered at intervals 4, 9, and 16 years before the date of the present data collection (i.e., in 1978, 1973, and 1966, respectively), one would predict (from figures in EDC and DES) that 41% of assitant professors, 35% of associate professors, and 27% of full professors to be women, if women were represented in proportion to their availability. As can be seen in Table II, women do not appear to be represented in proportion to their availabilty among associate and full professors. In 1973 (PFN) it appeared that hiring had not kept pace with the increasing numbers of women linguists on the job market. Now, however, hiring at the assistant professor level seems to have caught up (except at the more highly ranked institutions). Discrepancies between availability of women, as estimated in this fashion, and women at the associate and full professor levels remain, however, at all groupings of institutions examined. The discrepancy noted in the 1973 data between the availability of women and the hiring of them as assistant professors no doubt has some bearing on these data. Further study is needed to ascertain how much of the present pattern is a result of past hiring practices and how much of it is a result of more recent practices related to promotion and hiring at more senior levels.

It is not likely that all such disparities are a result of women choosing to depend on a spouse for income rather

than seeking employment themselves. Recent data (SRD 1981) indicate that 94.8% of the women polled (compare to 96.6% of the men) sought employment upon graduation. Further, data in SRD (1981) and in PFN indicate that women Ph.D.s in linguistics are far more likely to be single than are men (in 1973, nearly half of the women were single, while less than one-sixth of the men were).

Especially troublesome in these data is the fact that women are no better represented than they are at the assistant level in the 'top 12' schools. Women are not represented at the assistant professor level in proportion to the availability of women in Ph.D.s from all universities, nor even in proportion to those produced by these same schools. Numbers of women Ph.D.s produced has increased at all schools, including these institiutions. As previously discussed, the data do not indicate that women are under-represented at the assistant professor level because they have been promoted earlier at these institutions.

5.5 Research Institutions.

There are 26 research institutions listed in the DPL 1982. Some of these institutions are purely academic, some are academic affiliates, some are staffed by people with main affiliations at an academic institution already covered in this report, some are purely industrial/business groups. The subset of 16 institutions appearing in the 1980 DPL were asked how many full-time employees had degrees in linguistics, and of those how many were women. Of these 16 institutions, 4 reported no linguists. Some wrote that none of their employees had degrees in linguistics, though some of them were, nonetheless, linguists. Seven institutions employ linguists who were not also affiliated with academic insitutions included in the SSF data. The largest employer of linguists of these (and perhaps the largest employer of linguists in the U.S. and Canada) is

S.I.L., which employs 64 linguists; 17 (27%) of them women. This is a little better representation than at the academic institutions already discussed. The other 6 research institutions that employ linguists report a total of 15 linguists, of whom 7 are women. These data do not reveal large numbers of linguists employed outside academic institutions, but opportunities for linguists may be growing in this area. It does not appear that the opportunities are any better for male than for female linguists.

6. Discussion

These data indicate that while women are well-represented in the field, they are concentrated at the lower levels of rank among professors, institutions and degrees offered. There has been progress in the past 10 years in the patterns of hiring of women in proportion to their availability at the assistant professor level. However, this progress is not found for all groups of institutions considered. We are particularly concerned about the trend for the more highly ranked schools to have fewer female faculty members than elsewhere. This is especially distressing since these schools also tend to be the largest in terms of numbers of students, degrees granted and numbers of linguists employed.

We believe that most people want to treat others fairly and that any patterns of discrimination are not the result of conscious decisions to try to exclude women from the field. It is, however, often difficult to point out exactly where discrimination may be involved. Is it, for example, in hiring and promotion decisions or in committee assignments and course loads? Or is it in the writing of the job description? Is it in advising students, calling on them in class, or writing letters of recommendation for them? We believe (1) that responsibility for change rests with the entire community, (2) that most people in our field are interested in providing equal opportunities for all

members to make their best contribution, and (3) that pervasive subtle discrimination can do as much damage, if not more damage, than isolated incidents of overt discrimination.

Notes

1 The following table contains data provided by Pat Keating on tenure-track faculty hired between 1975 and 1982. This table shows the number of hires in junior and senior faculty positions in the top 20 departments. The percentage of women in each category is given in parentheses:

	Junior hires	Senior hires
Top 12 depts.	39 (36%)	13 (15%)
Next 8 depts.	34 (44%)	3 (0%)

Acknowledgment

This report was prepared with the help of: Vickie Bergvall, Martha Danly, Sarah Hawkins, S. Jay Keyser, Mary Laughren, Lori Levin, Andrea Levitt, Edith Maxwell, Lise Menn, Karin Nilsson, Loraine Obler, Maggie Reynolds, Stefanie Shattuck-Hufnagel, Lisa Travis, Anne Zaenen. Professor Kenneth Stevens generously provided computer facilities for tabulation and analysis of the results.

The Representation of Women in Linguistics 1989

Alice Davison (U. of Iowa)
Walter Cichocki (U. of New Brunswick)
David Silva (Cornell U.)

This paper reports the results of a survey which was done in the spring of 1989 of the degree programs in linguistics at colleges and universities in the U.S. This survey was intended as a way of getting a snapshot of linguistics programs in the academic year 1988-89, and especially to find out where women are, as faculty and graduate students. The main purpose of the survey was to find out in some detail where women stand, as faculty and students, and to see what has changed since the last study was done in 1982 (Price, this volume).

The survey form was sent in March 1989 to 144 departments and programs listed in the 1987 LSA directory which offered a B.A., M.A. or PhD in linguistics, rather than a degree in another field with concentration in linguistics. A number of followup letters were sent and in some cases telephone calls were made.

The survey form for all types of program asked about the faculty, by rank, tenure status and sex. The LSA directory listing was enclosed, and was to be up-dated where necessary. In addition, we asked for information about non-tenure-track instructors and lecturers, part-time faculty and postdoctoral or other visitors. For programs with a graduate degree program, we asked about graduate students, by sex and by whether they had or had not yet advanced to PhD candidacy. In order to find out about the amount and distribution of financial aid for graduate students, we included questions on teaching and research assistantships, fellowships and other sources of support, broken down by type of funding and sex of the recipients. The last set of

questions asked for information on program administration: chair, director of undergraduate and graduate studies, chair of admissions committee etc.

We received replies from 108 degree programs. In reporting on the data, the programs have been subdivided into groups, first by highest degree granted (B.A., M.A. and PhD). PhD programs were further subdivided into a group of 17 highly ranked departments, and other PhD- granting departments.

The number was chosen on the basis of a study (Jones and Lindzey 1982) done in the early 1980s of the 35 degree programs which together accounted for 76% of the PhDs in linguistics in 1976-80. This study asked 105 faculty, most of whom were in linguistics, to rank these programs on the basis of criteria such as size, faculty quality, success of graduates. There was substantial agreement among the respondent for the first 16 of the most highly ranked departments, and substantially less agreement after that point. The 17 departments chosen for inclusion in the highly ranked group for this study were selected on the basis of an informal questionnaire involving a small number of linguistics faculty in different sub fields of linguistics. There was substantial agreement among them. The departments will not be identified here, but informed guesses will probably be correct for most of them. We received replies from all of the departments in the highly ranked category, and all but three of the other PhD programs. The results have been compared with data from the early 1970s, from a study by Mary Levy, which was part of a manpower study done for the Center for Applied Linguistics, and from the early 1980s, from a survey similar to this one, done by Patti Price, which also appears in this volume.

The previous studies had shown two very important disparities in the representation of women. First, there was a marked drop in the percentage of women graduate students after the PhD qualifying examinations,

compared with the percentage in M.A. programs and the first years of PhD programs. Second, there was a very high percentage of women in assistant professor, lecturer and instructor positions, and a very small percentage at the tenured ranks of associate professor and professor. Until 1972, women made up about 30% of recipients of PhDs in linguistics. After that date, the percentage has risen to its current level at just under or just over 50%, with the greatest increase occurring in 1972-75. The low percentage of tenured faculty who were women in the early 1980s might be explained by the smaller pool of women receiving PhDs and getting tenure-track jobs. We were interested in seeing whether the percentage of women in higher faculties ranks has risen to reflect the much larger pool of women with PhDs in linguistics who could be hired in tenure-track jobs from the late 1970s on.

In this study and the comparison of our results with those of previous studies, we were interested in the following main questions:

- Are women making their way into senior faculty positions in greater numbers than before, reflecting the larger number of women who could be hired into tenure track positions? Are women still disproportionately represented in some less advantaged categories, such as lower ranking and temporary positions, and under-represented in tenure-track jobs? In particular, has the economic recession of the early 1980s meant that an even smaller proportion of women were hired in the few assistant professor positions that were filled during the recession?

- Is there any difference in the representation of women in the various catgegories in the 17 most highly ranked programs as opposed to other programs?

1. Who gets degrees in linguistics?

The distribution of degrees received is shown in Table 1 for the early 1970s, the early 1980s, and late 1980s. Women received well over 50% of B.A.s and M.A.s in linguistics (Vetter and Babcco 1986), and just about 50% of PhDs. These figures may be compared with recent overall figures (Table 2) for degrees in Letters, Social Sciences, Physical Sciences and Life Sciences.

Table 1
Percent of Linguistics Degrees Received by Women

Degree	Early 70s	Early 80s	Late 80s
MA	—	68	76.9
PhD	26*	45	57.4

*Data combined for 1970-72

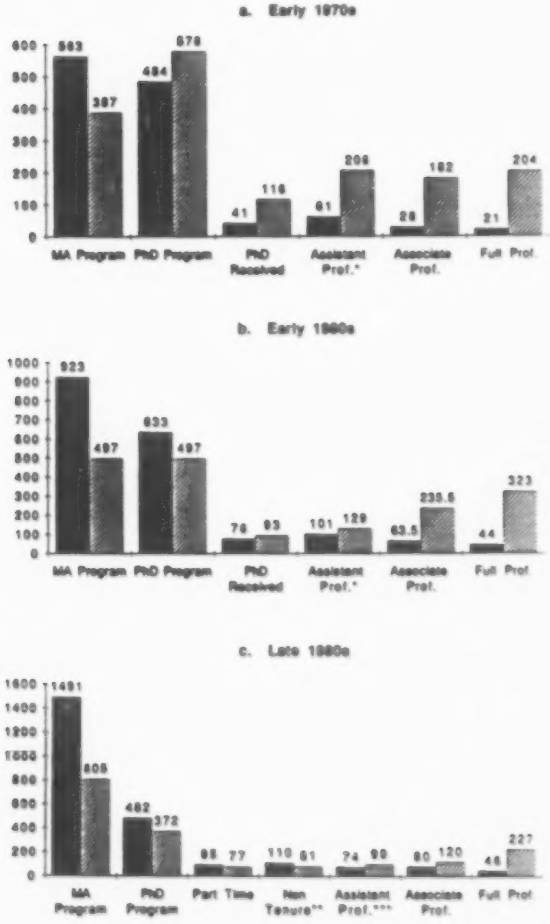
Table 2
Percent of Women by Degrees Received Across Disciplines (1986-87)

Discipline	BA	MA	PhD
Social Sciences	44	39	31
Physical Sciences	28	25	17
Life Sciences	48	49	35
Letters	66	65	56
Linguistics	70.5	64.0	56.7

Source: Linguistics: Dept. of Education preliminary figures for 1986-7. Others: Dept of Education, Integrated Post Secondary Education Data System. National Center for Education Statistics.

As in all fields, especially social sciences and sciences, there is a marked decrease in the proportion of women receiving PhDs, compared with B.A.s and M.A.s (Table 1 and Vetter and Babco 1987). There has also been attrition of women in advanced graduate study in linguistics. Figures 1-3 show the numbers of women over time at all academic levels.

Figure 1
Frequency by Rank and Sex



* Includes non tenure track assistant professors

** Includes full-time instructors and non tenure track assistant professors.

***Tenure track only.

Figure 2
Percent of Women by Rank Over Time

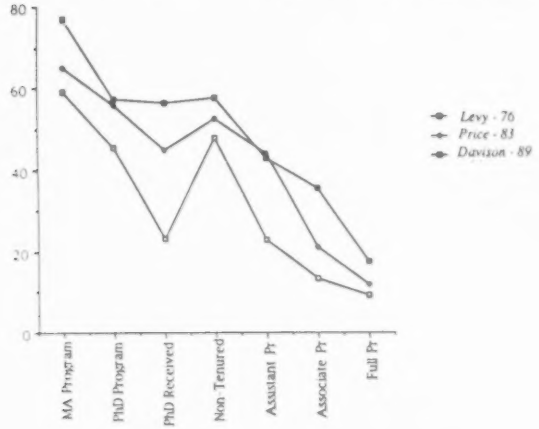
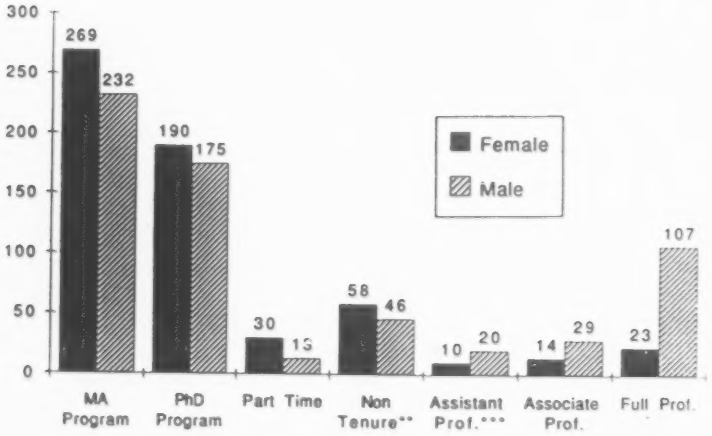


Figure 3
Frequency by Rank and Sex
Top 17 Departments: 1989



** Includes full-time instructors and non tenure track assistant professors.

***Tenure track only.

Let us compare the percentage of women among graduate students who are PhD candidates, with those who are in M.A. programs or have not yet advanced to PhD candidacy. Women predominate in M.A. programs and the first years of PhD programs, making up 60% or more.

The percentage of women in M.A. programs is significantly different from the other kinds of program. The exception is in the 17 most highly ranked PhD programs, where the proportion of women is lower than in other programs (54%), but the percentage in the PhD candidate group is the same as in the pre-qualifying exam group. This suggests that in these programs, women pass the PhD examination in proportions equal to women entering the program. Some of the differences with other programs may be accounted for by the high representation of women in terminal M.A. programs in linguistics and English as a Second Language, but the disparity of women compared with the numbers in advanced study in the other PhD programs points to the continued existence of some attrition, though undoubtedly less severe than before.

2. Who Has Jobs in Linguistics?

The percentage of women at higher faculty ranks has increased since the the last study was done (Figures 1-3). In comparing the numbers in each category with each other and over the three studies, one must bear in mind that the 1989 figures are for the programs which returned questionnaires and slightly underrepresent the field in the U.S. as a whole. As in the 2 previous studies, there is still a very high percentage of women, over 55%, in non-tenure track positions as instructors and assistant professors. Although there has been a decline in the absolute number of assistant professors from 1982 to 1989, the percentage of Assistant Professors who are women has remained about the same (44% in 1982, 43% in 1989). There has been a marked increase in the

percentage of tenured women associate professors since the early 1980s, and a small increase, from 12% to 17%, of full professors. Compared with other disciplines, linguistics has a higher percentage of women assistant professors (43%) than scientific fields (30%), and about the same percentage as humanities fields (45%; 1987 figures from the National Research Council). The percentage of women associate professors (40%) is higher than in either humanities (29%) or sciences (19%), and the percentage is roughly the same as in humanities (17%), which is greater than the percentage in the sciences (8%). A closer study of the pool of women in linguistics who are eligible for promotion but who have not been promoted would show whether or not there is a 'glass ceiling'.

The percentage of women in the 17 most highly ranked departments of linguistics is somewhat different from other linguistics programs (Figure 3). Table 3 compares the percentages of women at all levels in the top 17 departments with other departments. As this table shows, the top 17 departments have lower percentages of women at all levels except the top and bottom of the employment ranks. The percentage of women full professors is about the same in both groups, while part-time and non-tenure track faculty are 70% female in the top 17 schools and 50% female in the others.

	TOP 17	Other PHD
Part Time	69.8 (30/43)	50.4 (65/129)
Non-Tenure Track	55.8 (58/14)	59.8 (52/87)
Assistant Professor	33.3 (14/43)	44.8 (64/143)
Associate Professor	32.3 (14/43)	42.0 (66/157)
Full Professor	17.4 (28/161)	16.1 (18/112)

Table 3: Percentage of Faculty by Rank who are women, in Top 17 and Other PhD Programs. (Actual numbers of women/total are in parentheses.)

In the two earlier studies, the percentage of women among those hired as Assistant Professors was equal to the percentage of PhD recipients who were women. In the most recent study, there is a difference between these percentages. Women are 43% of all tenure-track assistant professors, but 57% of those who received PhDs. While there was no drop in the percentage of PhD recipients, there may have been a drop in the percentage of women who were hired in entry-level tenure-track jobs in linguistics. This was the case in scientific fields as a whole, where the number of individuals is large enough for the drop in the percentage of women among junior faculty hired during the recession of the 1980s to be statistically significant.[1]

It would require a detailed study of all the jobs filled during the years of economic recession to say with confidence whether women were hired at a lower rate than men. Since so few jobs were filled then, this would not be very difficult, assuming that the relevant individual faculty could be identified. It would be worth doing, along with a study of the rate at which women in linguistics received tenure during those years, to find an explanation for the continuing low percentage of women at the professor and associate professor ranks.

3. Graduate students and graduate student support.

The percentage of graduate students who are women are given by category of program in Table 4. Of the total of 3150 students, 27% are in the 17 most highly ranked departments. Students in M.A. programs make up another 27%, and the remaining 46% are in other PhD departments. For PhD programs, the student numbers are broken down into those who have passed a PhD qualifying exam, versus those in the first or second year of the program who have not yet taken the PhD exam. The percentage of women is highest in the MA programs and lowest in the top 17 programs.

	Top 17	PhD	MA
Pre-PhD	**53.7** (269/501)	**60.3** (576/955)	**76.9** (646/840)
PhD Cands.	**52.1** (190/365)	**59.7** (292/489)	
Total	**53.0** (459/866)	**60.1** (868/1444)	**76.9** (646/840)

Table 4: Percentage of pre-candidates and candidates who are women, by program type. (Actual numbers of women/total are in parentheses.)

Support Type	Top 17	Other PhD	MA
1. TA	**50** (122/244)	**55** (138/249)	**70** (58/83)
2. RA	**59** (46/78)	**59** (40/68)	**62** (8/13)
3. Fellowship	**56** (119/211)	**56** (90/161)	**88** (30/34)
4. Other TA	**48** (45/93)	**60** (74/124)	**62** (43/69)
5. Other Source	**52** (13/25	**62** (75/121	**85** (23/27)
6. No Support	**53** (114/215)	**63** (451/721)	**79** (646/840)
7. Total	**53** (459/866)	**60** (868/1444)	**77** (646/840)

Table 5: Percentage of students who are women in each financial aid category, by program type. (Actual numbers of females/total are in parentheses.)

The percentage of women students in the pre-PhD qualifying exam group is significantly lower (54%) in the top 17 programs than in the whole array of programs (63%) . But this means that the percentage of women at both the pre-and post-qualifying exam levels is about the same, and approximately the same as the percentage of PhD recipients who are women (45-55%) . There seems to be a greater difference in the remaining PhD programs between the two levels of students.

The information on financial aid given to students shows that there are marked differences by program type, as shown in Table 5. This table shows the numbers of people receiving support, but not the actual levels of support being received. In the 17 most highly ranked programs, three quarters of all students received some sort of financial aid, in the form of a fellowship, teaching or research assistantship, etc. Half of the students in the other PhD departments received support, while only 27% of students in M.A. programs received support. For the most highly ranked departments, there was no difference in overall support for men and women. The other categories of graduate departments showed a small difference in favor of men students. Paradoxically, among the student with financial aid, women form a slightly higher percentage than men, especially in M.A. programs. Yet within each category of program, the students without financial aid are also predominantly women, especially in M.A. programs, because of the very high percentage of women in programs of this type.

Most graduate students who have support receive teaching assistantships, which are given to over a third of supported students in programs of all types. The next largest group receives fellowships[2], which are given to a third of the students in the 17 most highly ranked programs, but to only 15% of M.A. students with financial aid. 30% of M.A. program students with financial aid receive teaching assistantships in other departments, as opposed to 14% of students in the most

highly ranked departments. Research assistantships are given to 12% of students in these departments with support, and to only 5.8% of such students in M.A. programs.

4. Program chairs

The questionnaire asked for information on various administrative functions, including the name of the current chair of the department or program. In 27 programs, the chair was a woman, in a few cases joint chair with a male faculty member (for example the program at the Claremont colleges, Pitzer and Pomona, have joint chairs, as do 3 other programs). Of the 17 highly ranked PhD programs, 4 have a woman as chair (24%). The other PhD and M.A. programs each have about 20% women chairs (PhD 8/40 including 1 joint chair; MA 5/28). 45% (11/24, including 2 joint chairs) of the chairs of B.A. programs are women, at least in the 24 programs for which we have current information.

5. LSA Membership

A question which often comes up in discussions of the representation of women in linguistics in the U.S. concerns the membership of the Linguistic Society of America. Not everyone who is active in linguistics is a member of the LSA, but the membership should be a large enough group to represent the composition of the overall group of linguists in the U.S. In 1988, I tried to determine what percentage of the members listed in the most recent list (1987) were women. I confined the count to the members whose mailing addresses were within the U.S., mainly because the survey of departments was to be limited to those in the U.S. All non-U.S. entries were eliminated, leaving 2995 members. Of these, we were unable to identify 165 members by sex, as their names were not identifiable as either men's or women's names, and we were not able to find anyone who knew them personally. Of the group of 2830 members who we

could identify either by name or personal acquaintance, 1172 were women. The U.S. membership of the LSA is therefore 41% women, and of them 336 were listed in the 1987 directory as faculty or researchers in linguistics. The task of categorizing LSA members by sex was very time consuming, and this count based on the 1987 list is already out of date. The new LSA membership form will ask for this information, which should be very helpful in future surveys and studies of women members.

The original proposal for the conference on women in linguistics included interviews with a sample of women representing various groups, including current PhD students, assistant professors and senior faculty, as well as those who had left the profession at various stages. The purpose and method were very similar, as I later found out, to a general study done of women academics in the Boston area by Nadja Aissenberg and Mona Harrington (1988) . The open-ended interviews with 60 women led to various interesting findings, many of which confirm conclusions made in the various papers included in this volume. One of the most interesting findings they made was that there was no discernable difference in background, education, family situation, and professional productivity between the women who had successful careers in an academic program (mostly in the humanities) and those who had left academia for various reasons, including lack of jobs or failure to get tenure (Aisenberg and Harrington 1988 xii, 157ff). It may be possible to do the study I proposed at some later date, using a questionnaire for a rather structured telephone interview, but it was not possible in the 4 months I had available last spring to make the arrangements for the conference in early June, including the survey of departments.

6. Conclusion

The survey of the 1988-89 acacdemic year shows that attrition in women as graduate students is much less

marked than in previous years. Women graduate students have approximately equal access to funding, particularly in departments which can offer assistantships and fellowships to a large percentage of students. M.A. programs have a very high percentage of women students, and a very small amount of support to offer.

The percentage of women in tenure-track assistant professor positions has stayed about the same; there is a very small number of such positions, though probably the picture is somewhat brighter now than a few years ago. The percentage of non-tenure track positions occupied by women remains high. The percentage of PhD recipients who are women now exceeds the percentage of women hired in assistant professor positions, suggesting that women have been hired in smaller numbers than men during the time that entry-level jobs were scarce. The percentage of associate professors who are women has risen though the numbers are small compared with the next highest rank of professor. There is a relatively large number of professors, and women still remain a relatively small percentage. Questions could be raised about whether there is a glass ceiling, meaning that women who are available in the pool of associate professors are not being promoted, or perhaps the number of women hired has been small for a number of years, so that the pool of women who are being promoted is too small to affect the percentages greatly. There still is a disparity between the percentage of women entering the field; women predominate slightly among graduate students, but are still a minority among faculty, except in non-tenure track positions.

Notes

1 This information comes from a presentation at the National Science Foundation by Betty N. Vetter, of the Commission on Professionals in Science and Technology. Information on current developments in the training and

use of scientists, engineers and technologists is available from the Commission (1500 Massachusetts Ave, N.W., Suite 831, Washington, D.C. 20005. I have found one of their publications extremely useful: Professional Women and Minorities: a manpower data resource service, 7th edition (1987), edited by Betty N. Vetter and Eleanor Babco.

2 It may be of some interest to know the sources of fellowship funding mentioned in the survey questionnaires. In addition to department and university fellowships, linguistics students received fellowships from the following: National Science Foundation, Fulbright program, NDEA Title VI (FLAS) program, Ford Foundation and Ford Foundation Minority Program, Rotary Clubs, American Association of University Women, IIE, Cognitive Science Foundation, Mellon fellowships, Jacob Javits fellowships, Mabel Wilson Richards fellowship, Century fellowships Amideast Social Science and Humanities Research Council (Canada), other foreign governments (Germany, Japan, Turkey), Shell, Kodak, Harris.

Acknowledgments

In addition to the people mentioned in the first part of this volume, I would like to thank the following for their generous help in preparing this study: Rosemary Plapp (U. of Iowa), Beverley Goodman (Cornell U.) and Christine Kempner (Cornell U.). Many thanks to the departments and programs who completed the questionnaire on which this paper is based.

Bibliography

Jones, Lyle V. and Gardner Lindzey eds. (1982) An assessment of research doctorate programs in the United States: Humantities. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.

Nadja Aisenberg and Mona Harrington, (1988) Women of academe: outsiders in the sacred grove. U. of Massachusetts Press. (available in paperback).

The results and discussion of an open-ended survey of women academics, mostly from humanities disciplines, comparing those who were successful in getting academic positions, and others who have found jobs elsewhere. A lot of the topics in this book are relevant to the experiences of women in linguistics. There is a list (pp. 199-200) of recent books on power differences among men and women in various professions.

Linda S. Dix (editor) (1988) 'Women: their underrepresentation and career differentials in science and engineering.' Proceedings of a workshop. National Academic Press, Washington D.C. Available (free) from:

Office of Scientific and Engineering Personnel
2101 Constitution Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20418

This report consists of 5 long and thoughtful papers on why women are underrepresented in sciences, with excellent bibliographies of references to a wide range of different published studies (including ones by Harriet Zuckerman and J.R. Cole on the lower rate of publication among women scientists), access to graduate student support and post-doctoral research funds, etc.

Carolyn Heilbrun (1988) Writing a woman's life. Norton. Some interesting observations about the pattern of women's lives (the 'quest' plot vs the 'marriage' plot also referred to in the Aisenberg-Harrington book) and about her own dual

identity as an untenured woman in an English department and as a writer.

Betty Vetter and Eleanor Babco (annual) Professional women and minorities" a manpower data resourse service. Washington, D.C. Commission on Professionals in Science and Technology. (1500 Massachusetts Ave, N.W. Washington, D.C.)

This is a comprehensive survey of degree recipients (B.A.-PhD) in a number of fields, including linguistics. Information has been collected since the early 60s, and the study is up-dated every year. (Not all libraries have the most recent version.)

Summary report (1987) Doctorate recipients from United States Universities. Office of Science and Engineering Personnel, National Research Council. National Academy Press. The 1988 summary report will be available in January 1990 from:

Doctorate Records project
Office of Science and Engineering Personnel
National Research Council
2101 Constitution Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20418

The statistics show breakdowns by field, gender, sources of support, post-graduate commitments and the time taken for completion of the degree.

Women in Linguistics: Recent Trends

Dorothy Disterheft
University of South Carolina

1. Introduction

This report has much the same aim as Alice Davison's and Patti Price's (in this volume): to assess the status of women in linguistics. However, it draws its data from published sources, and in addition to providing a statement about current levels in the field, also gives historical information as background. Having surveyed eight representative journals, four *LSA Meeting Handbooks*, and four editions of the LSA's *Directories of Programs in Linguistics in the U.S. and Canada*, I attempt to assess the relative position women hold in the field (i.e. their distribution in the academic ranks) and what their level of contribution is in the areas of publication (writing journal articles and book reviews, editing journals or serving on editorial boards, writing books reviewed in journals) and activity at professional meetings (reading papers, chairing sessions).[1] Implicit throughout the discussion will be a comparison of the proportion of women to men in various professional activities to the proportion of Ph.D.s earned by women. After I discuss what we can infer from figures for 1988, I compare them with those from previous years in each of the same categories. In my survey of journals, I have included annual tallies from 1983 to 1988, and for some, have continued at five-year intervals from 1975 back to 1960.

This report focuses on women in the United States, as do the rest of the contributions in this volume. However, it necessarily includes visitors from other countries who happen to hold academic positions here, who publish in American journals, or read papers at the Annual LSA Meetings. It is impossible to segregate them by nationality since there are few national boundaries in

academia nowadays. Conversely, in order to increase the data base of this study, I have included journals published outside of the United States which have heavy contributions by American authors. Regarding the counts of women in published sources, I must also emphasize the problem of identifying the sex of a person by given name alone. This is often risky because of the large number of initials, non-English, or ambiguous names in the literature. The percentages quoted here are based only upon those names which have been positively identified as women and therefore the numbers used, if not entirely accurate, are slightly conservative. Thus, whenever I refer to a percentage of women in any area, it should be understood as names identified as female. This method of counting includes unidentified women in the male category by default, a problem which shouldn't skew my percentages significantly because the unidentified names exceed 1% of total tokens in only two journals, each occurrence of a name being one token.[2] The majority of the unidentified names have first initials, a practice most commonly, though not exclusively, used by men.

2. The current picture

Figure 1 summarizes the percentage of women in all the 1988 activity included here and is supported by the 1988 entries in each of Figures 4-13. (The tables and figures are grouped at the end of this paper, since repeated reference to them is scattered throughout the text.) Columns 1-4 indicate the averages of publishing activity in all journals combined (for this report I have used *International journal of American linguistics*, *Journal of child language*, *Language*, *Language in society*, *Lingua*, *Linguistic inquiry*, *Linguistics*, and *Natural language and linguistic theory*).

2.1 Publication

Although women have never been a strong presence as editors (see below, Figure 5), they now edit major journals, and on editorial boards are starting to approach the proportion of senior women linguists. That certain ones have high profiles as editors and board members is not reflected at all in the numbers quoted here. As authors of articles in journals, their activity is approximately the same as the percentage of women in all ranks of linguistics faculty in departments and interdepartmental programs combined (see below, Table 2). In 1988, women wrote a higher proportion of articles than reviews, and generally do so. While reviews are not counted in promotion and tenure reviews, being invited to write them may be viewed as an indicator of prestige.[3]

2.2 Conferences

As an indicator of conference activity, I have chosen to survey women's participation at the LSA Annual Meetings because it is the largest of the linguistics meetings and cuts across most subdisciplines. Figure 1, columns 5-8 shows that at the 1988 Annual Meeting in New Orleans, women presented more than half the papers in regular sessions (51.2%) and chaired more than half the sessions (55.8%, including the AAAL sessions which had slightly higher proportions of women). In the colloquia and other special events, women were presenters or discussants almost 60% of the time and chaired 40% of the organized colloquia.

2.3 Ranking

While the level of participation at national meetings is a good reflection of any group's activity, the most important indicator of status is representation in the professional ranks. There is no published data on women linguists with academic appointments in U.S. colleges and universities for 1988; the most recent source of

information is the 1987 edition of *Directory of programs in linguistics in the U. S. and Canada*. Because of the length of time it takes to accumulate the information it contains and to publish it, the *Directory* is necessarily outdated by the time it is distributed. In addition to the time delay, the *Directory* is not as good a source as a direct survey of the type in Price and Davison (this volume) because it doesn't list faculty appointments according to discipline, but rather academic unit. Thus linguistics departments list only linguists in those departments, but not those in English, foreign languages, anthropology, etc. These are found under 'Linguists in other departments'. While interdepartmental linguistics programs, committees, and curricula are constituted of staff from two or more departments/ disciplines, they do list as linguists persons who are not primarily that and who may never even teach courses with significant linguistics content or be otherwise active in the field. Thus one cannot count all persons listed in other departments as linguists. Obviously, if I were to go through the *Directory* and count persons known to me as linguists, that would be more anecdotal than representative. Because the question of whom to count as a linguist in the *Directory* becomes very complicated, one might be tempted not to use it as a source at all. However, since we have no other easily accessible source for historical information, I have made the decision to do so. In order to test how different the percentages in departments might be from programs, I have, for 1987 only, made two separate counts (see Figure 2) to compare with Alice Davison's 1988-89 survey. In the first, I counted faculty listed under linguistics departments alone and in the second, those in all linguistics units which grant degrees in linguistics (i.e. departments in addition to programs, committees, and curricula). The drawbacks to the first principle of counting is that it doesn't recognize as linguists faculty in other departments and the second doesn't count linguists who are not officially associated with the linguistics department or program at that institution.

Thus either method will exclude some of the brightest and most productive linguists in the U.S.

In the first group (departments only), women formed 48.8% of Assistant Professors, 26.8% of Associate Professors, and 15% of Professors, whereas in the second (departments and programs combined), women were 49.3% of Assistants, 29.2% of Associates, and 17.4% of Professors. The combined departments and programs consistently show a higher percentage of women than do the departments by themselves, with the smallest discrepancy for Assistants (.6%); the other two ranks each have a discrepancy of 2.4%. Alice Davison's numbers show women at slightly lower levels, but closer to mine for linguistics departments alone. There are easily a number of reasons for this discrepency, the most likely one being that her count includes only tenure-track, full-time faculty, while the *Directory* does not discriminate part-time or nontenure-track from regular appointments.

It would appear that in the past few years, the representation of women in academic rank at the junior level is approaching parity. However, the levels of Associate Professors not only reflect the lower rates of Ph.D.s earned by women in the years before the annual rate consistently matched men's after 1983, but also historical biases in hiring (Figure 3). Furthermore, the actual numbers of women are still small (see Tables 1 and 2). Men total more than 2.5 times the number of women in all ranks combined, and the rank in which the two sexes are almost equivalent (Assistant) is the smallest.

3. Historical trends

Now I will turn to information I have gathered about the recent history of women's participation in linguistics and will look at trends in the ranking of women in linguistics departments only (i.e., I did not count combined

departments and programs). For the latter I surveyed the LSA *Directory of Programs* from 1974, 1980, and 1984, in addition to 1987. The support for these counts is also located in Figure 2. Overall there has been a trend for greater representation and participation, both numerically and proportionately, of women in the academic ranks. We see below that the rank with the most variability has been Assistant, while the other two have had steady, if unremarkable, increases.

3.1 Ranking

Taking each rank in turn, we see in Figure 2 that proportionately fewer women were Assistants in 1974 (22.6%) than recently, but in the few years prior to 1974 (say, 1967-1973), the period during which they would have earned their degrees, the rate of conferral (Figure 3) ranged between 20-30%[4] thus there was little discrepancy between the rate of degrees earned and the rate of hiring. From the *Directory* count, I estimate Assistants at 33% for 1980, whereas the rate of degrees earned one to seven years earlier was 31-49.7%, an average of 40%. Here we see an obvious lag developing between the rate of earning the Ph.D. and obtaining an academic appointment. In 1984, note that the level of women in Assistant position actually fell by almost 7% to 26.2%, while the rate of degrees earned remained constant (averaging 44% for the preceding decade). Note also (Table 2) that the number of men remained constant at Assistant (76 in 1980 and 75 in 1984), while women fell from 39 to 28 during the same period.

At the Associate level women have not had the same success that they had at appointment. While the level of Associates did almost double from 1974 to 1980 (12.5% to 23.8%), it has remained static since then, rising only 3% between 1980 and 1987 (to 26.8%); in actual numbers it rose from 37 to 47.

It is almost impossible to make inferences about the average number of years in rank that the canonical full Professor might be, although it is safe to assume a minimum of ten. There was a 2.4-fold increase for this rank during a seven-year stretch, as there was for Associates, but it came during 1980-87. Many of the same individuals who were successful at being promoted to Associate during 1974-80 must have been the same ones who were promoted to Professor in 1980-87. However, this success was only relative because at least some of the 15% of women Professors in 1987 would have received their degrees during the time since they started to average 40% or more of degrees granted (i.e. 1974-77). It is impossible to go into more detail than this without a longitudinal study tracking the same individuals through their careers.

When we look at the rates at which women advance through the ranks, we see an improvement during the past decade. The total percentage of women in rank rose from 16% in 1974 to 22.5% in 1980, and remained at that level in 1984. Between 1980 and 1984 three Assistants were promoted to Associate, which only partially accounts for the loss in numbers of Assistants and for the lack of gain in this period. The number of 1974 Assistants and 1980 Associates is identical, at first suggesting that women were very successful at getting tenure. That this is not the case is shown by the number of Professors, which increased by only four over the same period. This indicates that nine each of the Assistants and Associates were unsuccessful in being promoted. 1987, however, shows a definite rise in women's fortunes: in addition to the 2.4-fold increase of Professors for 1980-87, women Associates gained by seven, while Assistants jumped to 61, thus regaining ground lost for this rank in 1980-84. As a result, the percentage of women in all ranks went from a little over one-fifth in 1980 and 84 to one-third in 1987. The numbers indicate that most of the 96 women in rank in 1984 were still there in 1987, thus raising the total to 152.

The LSA survey of linguistics department and program heads conducted in 1973 has figures which are slightly different than mine for 1974. Women were 20.5% of Assistants (out of 234 total), 12.9% of Associates (201 total), and 9% of Professors (222 total; Levy et al. 1976, 253). The major reason for the differences, aside from being slightly earlier, is that this survey counted combined departments and programs, which yielded a higher number of institutions surveyed. (Compare with Table 2.)

Levy et al. (1976, 252) reported a survey of linguistics departments and programs using *University resources in the United States and Canada for the study of linguistics*, 1972 edition. They listed 19% Assistants, 15% Associates, and 7% Professors, figures which show higher rates for the first two categories than do mine for 1974, but the same for Professor. The differences could be due to either actual shifts in rank or to the fact that this is also based on a combined count of departments and programs.

Although the percentages look promising, they belie the actual number of women in rank. The number of Assistants has in reality fallen between 1974 and now because most have been promoted. Due to advancement through the ranks, the numbers of Associates and Professors have increased in the last fifteen years. However, this also suggests a greying of the profession, with subsequent loss of positions that women might fill.

3.2 Conferences

Information about the activity of women at LSA Annual Meetings is based on a survey of five-year intervals between 1974 and 1988 (see Figure 4). While they have always been a strong presence presenting papers in regular sessions, it was not until recently that their activity has started to match the level of degrees

produced. Women have in this period chaired sessions roughly on a par with their ratio in the field; however, not until the last five years have they chaired or organized Colloquia.

3.3 Publication

I have surveyed women's publishing activity in eight journals annually from 1983-1988 (Figures 6-1) with three of them from previous years (Figures 6, 8, 11). The combined averages of all publishing activity (Figure 5) show that as authors of articles, the percentage of women has almost doubled since 1960 when it was 20%, but was still consistent with number of degrees earned. The downward incline between 1960 and 1970 is due not only to the small sample used for this period[5] (*Language*, *International journal of American linguistics*, *Linguistic inquiry*) but also to two other facts: the last-mentioned started publication in 1970 and had no women contributors that year; the first two had slightly lower percentages of women in 1970 anyway. As authors of book reviews, women were a smaller minority before 1983, a year in which authorship of reviews actually exceeded articles.

When we go beyond the averages to look at specific journals, we see women participating at varying levels in different journals. Women have never served as editors or editorial board members to the same degree that they have published. In the journal issues surveyed here, women did not serve as editor until 1970 (*Language*: one associate editor amoung 6; Figure 7). *Language in society*, with three male editors, has never had a woman in an editorial position, although women have published, in all years surveyed but one, 30% or more of the articles (Figure 8). As for *IJAL*, women have had average representation in the three publishing areas as in other journals. Of the eleven years surveyed, however, they did not appear as editors until 1975 (when there was one woman among three), or on the editorial

board until 1980 (Figure 6). Women have been members of editorial boards longer than they have been editors because, obviously, board membership is less restricted.

Women have always been underrepresented in *Linguistic inquiry*, which has three editorial bodies: editors, an advisory éditorial board, and an associate editorial board (Figure 9). In volume one (1970), the only female presence was 7 remarks and squibs (out of 60 people who contributed to that volume in various ways). By 1975, however, women published 45% of the articles there (the highest of any volume which I surveyed of this journal). By 1988, the percentage of women editors approached the level at which women publish here, except for the advisory editorial board, which remains all-male, and the associate editorial board, which is 20.9% female.

As mentioned in section 2.1 above, women in 1988 wrote a higher percentage of articles than book reviews and this has generally been the case overall, except for 1983 (Figure 5). The average rates at which women contributed articles and reviews in 1983-88 are, respectively, *Journal of child language* .612, .496; *Language in society* .44, .507; *Language* .332, .243; *IJAL* .295, .284; *Linguistics* .265, .277; *Lingua* .194, .210. Two publish no reviews: *Linguistic inquiry* .254; *Natural language and linguistic theory* .25. It appears then that of the areas surveyed, women publish most heavily in sociolinguistics and child language, and least in formal linguistics.[6] In the non-specialized journals, they contribute far more to American than to European ones.

As far as refereeing goes, I have surveyed referees of two journals (most journals do not publish lists). Both *Language* and *Natural language and linguistic theory* have higher percentages of women refereeing than contributing articles: .333 and .377, respectively.

4. Conclusion

The impression one gets is that women are quite visible in linguistics, especially at LSA Annual Meetings where they presented 38% of the papers in regular session in the last fifteen years[7] and they published 33.4% of articles.[8] However, tenure and promotion patterns have in the last decade and a half locked into senior position male faculty who dominate this portion of the ladder, with the result that numbers in other ranks are relatively low. However crude the figures which I have cited may be, they indicate a sizeable gap between the rates at which degrees have been earned and at which women have advanced up the ladder.

This study has given a rough estimate of the patterns of activity and success of women in linguistics. Due to time constraints, however, I have not been able to do wider counts in journals, especially for the decade of the sixties, so that our information for that sample can be made more reliable. It would also be good to know whether women are publishing more in the first-ranked journals than in previous years.

We definitely need to know more about the behavior of women in this profession, of the sort that is already known in others; see, for example the survey of studies provided for women in science and engineering by Zuckerman 1987. A few questions which we have not asked here are the following: Are women cited more frequently now in the *Social sciences citation index* and the *Arts and humanities citation index* than twenty years ago? How do the careers of women differ from those of men? Do their attainments match those of men in all cohorts? If not, in which cohorts do they deviate? What has happened to women as they seek their first job and as they advance through the ranks? Most of these questions can only be answered with a longitudinal study.

Many wonderful life stories were brought to this conference; what showed up as a result from both the personal histories and from the dull numbers quoted here is that the sailing has often been rough for women in linguistics, as in the other professions. It will be smoother in the future if the percentage of women Assistants keeps increasing in line with Ph.D.s produced, if women maintain the same level of success at promotion and tenure that they have had since 1984, and if they maintain the high level of publishing that they do relative to their numbers.

Notes

[1] I owe a large debt to Alice Davison and also to Richard Porter, who was my Research Assistant during this period. The former sent me preliminary counts of women from several 1983-85 journals and the latter helped me check them in order to establish who the unidentified ones are. In addition, he expanded the survey to include more journals and more years and helped with the *Program Directories*. This was a grueling task, but the good humor of both these people helped overcome the flood of data. Margaret Reynolds was very helpful in providing printed resources and Frederick Newmeyer also pointed out interpretations of some of the statistics to me.

[2] This approach to the same problem was also followed in Levy et al. 1976.252 for an estimation of the number of women in rank in 1971-72. (I discuss this report in section 3.1 below.) In order to make my counts as accurate as possible, I have solicited help from many people in identifying problematic names – not only those who attended the Cornell conference but also from colleagues scattered around the United States and the rest of the world, thanks to the technology of e-mail. I owe an exhuberant thank you to all colleagues and friends who tolerated my name lists during summer and fall of 1989. Suzanne Romaine was especially responsive

to my constant electronic badgering; Sarah G. Thomason helped by supplying me with information from an editor's perspective.

By the end of this project, the following distribution of unidentified names remained: *IJAL*, 5 out of 686 tokens (.0072); *Journal of child language* 29/571 (.05); *Language* 1/1975 (.0005); *Language in society* 1/962 (.0010); *Lingua* 22/620 (.0354); *Linguistics* 1/991 (.0010); LSA Annual Meetings 8/919 (.0087); Linguistics programs and departments 4/1251 (.0031). There were no unidentified names in *Linguistic inquiry* or *Natural language and linguistic theory*.

3 Sarah Thomason, however, has pointed out to me that even if being invited to review books is prestigious, it is not so prestigious as to guarantee that the majority of those invited to review will accept. She estimates the ratio of solicited to volunteered reviews recently in *Language* at being 20:1 (p.c.). Thus, while they may indicate name recognition rather than prestige, the numbers are not much skewed by volunteers.

For *Language*, I have not counted book notes in the same category as reviews because they are not invited, but rather assigned on a volunteer basis. As a separate category, however, they might serve as an indicator of women who are willing to do reviews. I didn't include them because of time constraints. For *IJAL* I have not separated notes from reviews because of the way they are formatted in that journal.

4 The data in Figure 3 are from *Doctorate records file*, National Research Council. The last year available at the time this was written was 1987.

5 This was the result of time constraints.

6 I am not claiming, however, that women publish most or least in these two of all subdisciplines.

[7] Based on the average of 1974, 1978, 1983, 1988; see Figure 5.

[8] Based on the average of articles published in journals surveyed here for 1975, 1987, and 1988; see Figure 5.

References

Levy, Mary M., A. Hood Roberts, and John B. Carroll. 1976. Present and future needs for specialists in linguistics and the uncommonly taught languages. Final report to the Office of Education, Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, Contract no. OEC 0-71-1418. Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics and Linguistic Society of America.

Zuckerman, Harriet. 1987. Persistence and change in the careers of men and women scientists and engineers: a review of current research. In Women: their underrepresentation and career differentials in science and engineering. Proceedings of a workshop. Edited by Linda Dix, p. 123-56. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.

Figures and Tables

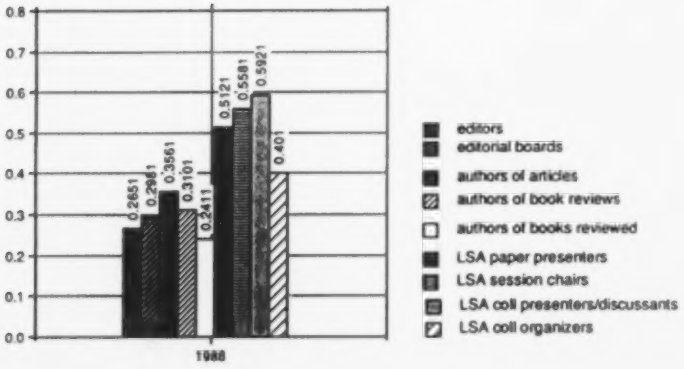


Figure 1. Activity by women, 1988

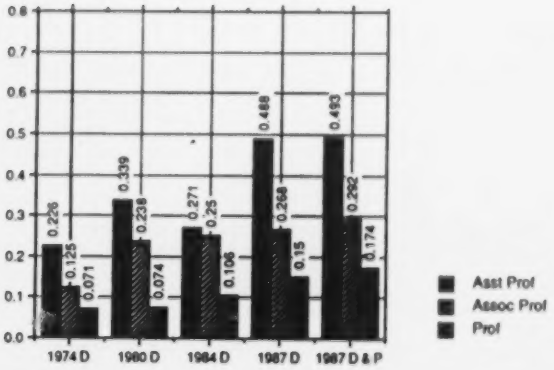


Figure 2. Women in rank, 1974 - 1987

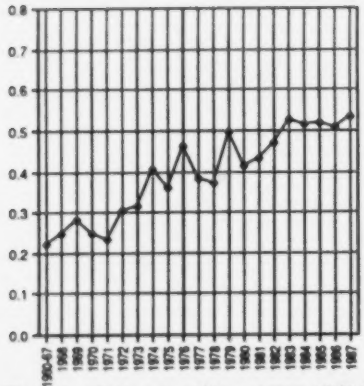


Figure 3. Ph.D.s earned by women, 1960-87

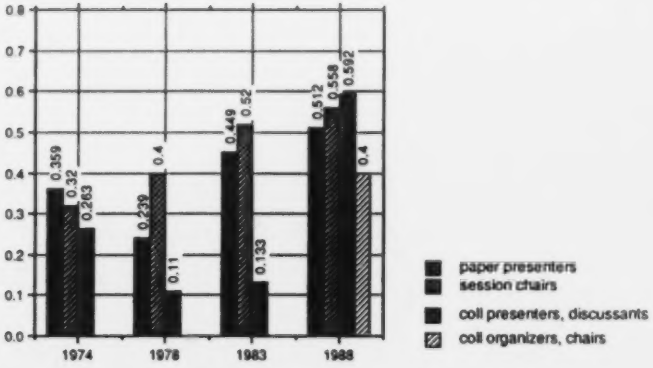


Figure 4. LSA annual meetings, 1974-1988

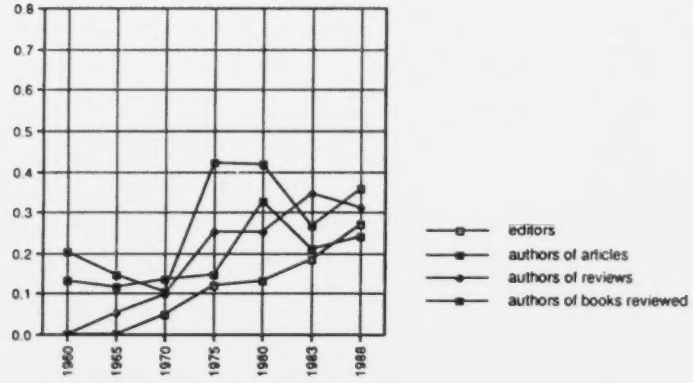


Figure 5. Publishing activity, 1960-1988

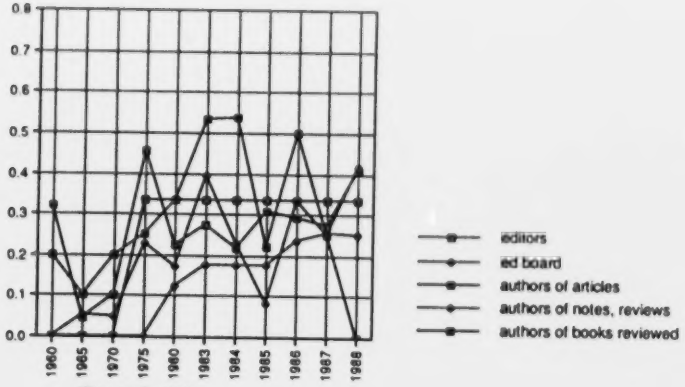


Figure 6. IJAL

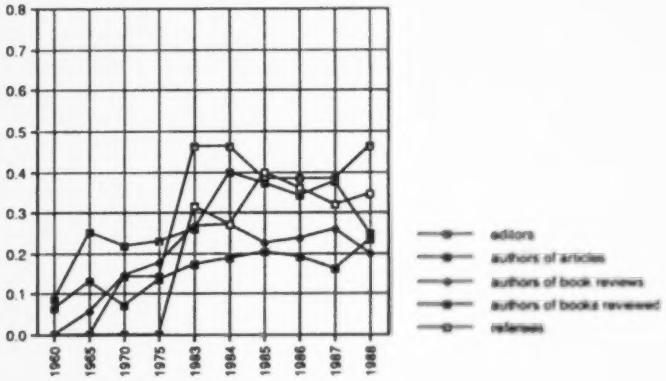


Figure 7. Language

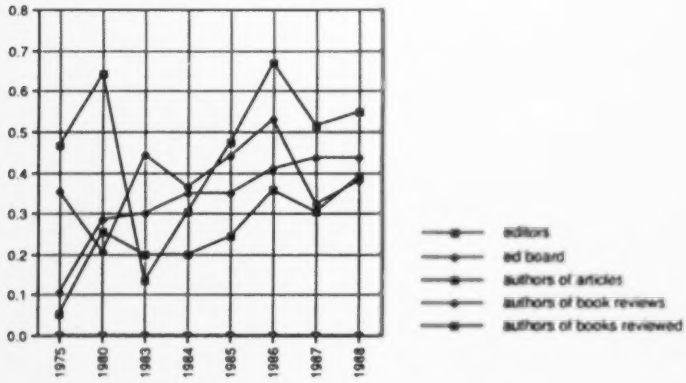


Figure 8. Language in society

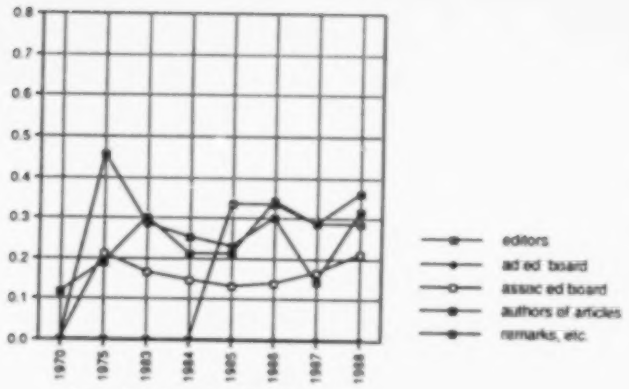


Figure 9. Linguistic inquiry

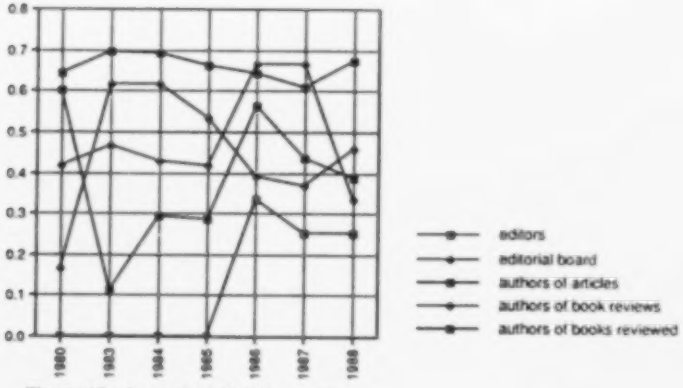


Figure 10. Journal of child language

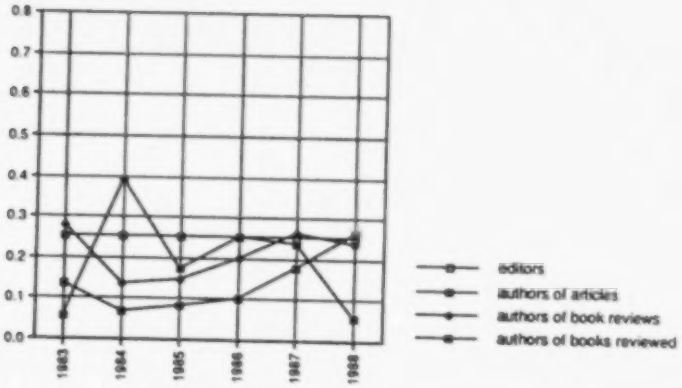


Figure 11. Lingua

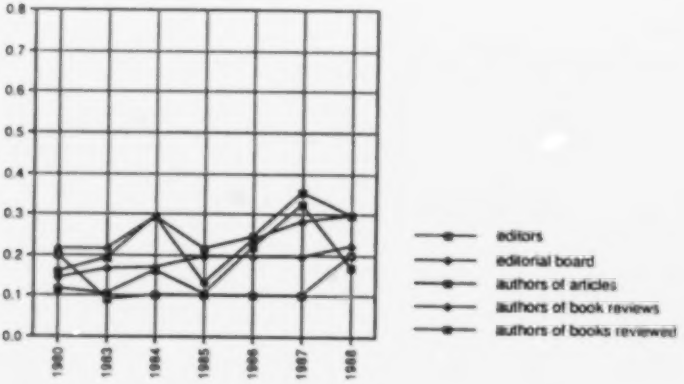


Figure 12. Linguistics

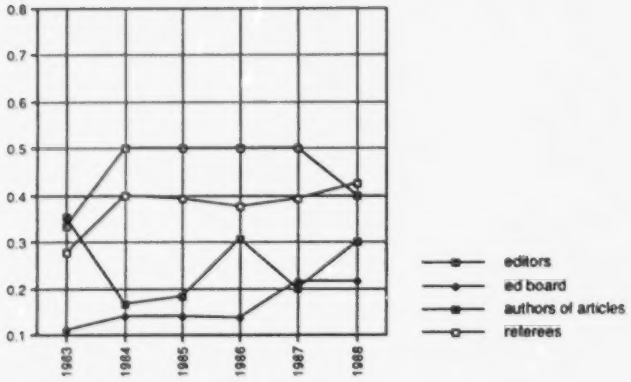


Figure 13. NLLT

	TOP 17	Other PHD
Part Time	69.8 (30/43)	50.4 (65/129)
Non-Tenure Track	55.8 (58/14)	59.8 (52/87)
Assistant Professor	33.3 (14/43)	44.8 (64/143)
Associate Professor	32.3 (14/43)	42.0 (66/157)
Full Professor	17.4 (28/161)	16.1 (18/112)

Table 3: Percentage of Faculty by Rank who are women, in Top 17 and Other PhD Programs. (Actual numbers of women/total are in parentheses.)

	1974			1980			1984			1987		
	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total
Asst.	37	126	(163)	39	76	(115)	28	75	(103)	61	64	(125)
Assoc.	13	91	(104)	37	118	(155)	40	120	(160)	47	128	(175)
Prof.	14	182	(196)	18	223	(241)	28	235	(263)	44	249	(293)
Total.	64	399	(463)	94	417	(511)	96	430	(526)	152	441	(593)
F % of total			.16			.225			.223			.345

Table 2. Number of faculty in linguistics departments

Part 3

Problems and their Sources

How Dick and Jane Got Tenure: Women and University Culture 1989

Paula A. Treichler
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champagn

DICK AND JANE: THE DREAM

I'm sure most of you remember Dick and Jane:

This is how feminist Lydia Sargent (1988:26) remembers them:

> In the 1950s, many of us learned to read from a first grade primer, *On Cherry Street*. We sounded out short simple sentences about a nice white family consisting of Father, who went to work in the family car; Mother, who cleaned and cooked happily and prettily in the curtained kitchen; Dick, who did little boy things; Jane, who did little girl things; Sally, who did baby things; Spot, who did energetic dog things; and Puff, who did soft, cuddly kitten things. And they all lived happily on a pretty street where people did American things under the shade of cherry and elm trees.
>
> Throughout American history, few wandered from home. To live on Cherry Street was what American boys and girls, men and women, black and white, rich and poor were supposed to work for, long for, live for, fight for, and die for. If we didn't live on Cherry Street, we planned to move there. If we couldn't afford it, we dreamed of moving there. If we were excluded from it, we imitated it on some other street.

In these texts, as one commentator put it, "Dick Does" and "Jane Watches" (Storey 1979-80):

Jane said, "Father! Father!
I can not get the ball down.
Can you help me, Father?
Can you jump and get the ball?"

Dick said, "Oh, Jane.
I can get the ball down."

Dick said, "Here, Jane.
Here is the ball."

Jane said, "Mother! Father!
Did you see that?
Did you see the ball come down?
Dick did that!"

(from Robinson et al (1962) 43-44.)

But we have lived and are living through a period of great social change. Again – here is Sargent:

> While there had been challenges to many things in American society, few people, few movements, few ideologies had interfered with moving vans on their way to Cherry Street. Until the 1960s. Then, not only did the dream of Cherry Street begin to fade but the streets were torn up, the curtains pulled down, the sweet little houses shaken to their very foundations as Mother left the kitchen and Jane packed up and ran away.

What I want to do is use Dick and Jane to trace two gendered individuals – 50s kids – through the academic world of the 60s, 70s, and 80s. Obviously I am using them as rather metaphorical figures and am taking the liberty of making them a couple. After sketching their careers, I will conclude with some comments about the ideological character of academic institutions.

DICK AND JANE: THE CHRONOLOGY

1966, fall. Dick and Jane meet. Dick is finishing college where he has taken a more or less continuous four-year independent study in English literature. He will now become an English professor, a decision he made at age 8. Jane is majoring in philosophy. Her only plan is to work in New York City and think about the meaning of life (something people did more of in those days). Then she hears about a new field called psycholinguistics and applies to every linguistics department that offers it, or claims to.

1967, spring. Dick and Jane decide to go to graduate school together. They select the University of X, the school that is best for both of them (though not necessarily best for either of them individually). They readily accept this, unaware that in this first moment of mutual compromise, they have committed a revolutionary act. Dick chooses his department for its three-year PhD program and for the NDEA fellowship he is given. Jane chooses her department because it offers psycholinguistics; she is given a research assistantship but has no idea what this is. Dick knows that getting a PhD will enable him to be an English professor, and teach and publish books and articles. Jane has no idea what getting a PhD means and has never asked or been told. She thinks graduate school will enable her to study the relationship between language and thought. Dick thinks graduate school will be a drag. Jane thinks it will be fun.

1967, fall. Dick learns that most professors in his department, all men except for one woman who is extremely ancient and not considered a woman anyhow, have high standards. Of highest priority is the cookie list, on which graduate students sign up to bring cookies to seminars. The cookie list is carefully vetted. Cookies with chocolate are preferred; lemon thins are permissible; fig newtons are prohibited. In Dick's department, graduate students are expected to attend colloquia given by famous men from other universities, to drink sherry in tiny sips, and to ask learned questions that will demonstrate the department's continued commitment to dry scholarship in the face of drugs, sex, rock 'n' roll, and Vietnam. In this climate of increasing threat to the preservation of excellence, Dick develops strategies for consuming large quantities of sherry.

Jane's department is housed in the football stadium. All the faculty are male except for one woman who is young, smart, and involved in the profession. The department as a whole is relatively uninvolved, and also unconcerned about cookies or sherry. It favors bourbon, straight, no ice, preferably in tumblers. This is understood to be a drinking practice adopted of necessity in the field; internal evidence (such as faculty publication records) suggests this may mean the field behind the stadium. Famous men from other universities rarely come to speak; when they do, their talks, obviously written on airline cocktail napkins, begin, "I'm developing an idea I'd kind of like to try out." The department believes linguistics is a descriptive science and that generative grammar is a fad, like television. The graduate students note with some dismay that television is now more than 30 years old.

Dick selects Professor W as his advisor, a senior male professor who relishes unorthodox intellectual positions, conducts conferences with his briefcase upright on the desk between him and the student, and does not want to

read drafts of anything. Dick is happy. Jane is selected by Professor Z, a senior male professor of psycholinguistics; she will work in his lab, and be one of "his" students. Professor Z, once a noted phonetician, is now a Skinnerian psycholinguist – indeed, he believes Skinner is "soft." Jane will not be studying language and thought after all for these are terms at the top of the Skinnerian hit list. Jane is given a rat to train. It dies.

1968, fall. The war in Vietnam escalates. Students around the United States demonstrate, march, and call for a radical rethinking of the meaning of education. The University of X fires several marxist professors and returns to its central institutional mission: its investment portfolio. Question: divest in South Africa? No: buy Exxon and sell Union Carbide (or vice versa).

1968, spring. The head of Jane's department offers her an NDEA Fellowship for three years. She accepts, unaware that this means she is supposed to leave her advisor, Professor Z, and study Persian with the department head. She remains with Professor Z. But the department head holds no grudge, and opens a meeting of his (all male) executive committee by asking "Why am I smiling? Because I dreamed last night about Jane's breasts." With the breasts as a good starting point, the committee spends the rest of the meeting constructing, out of the components available (eyes, legs, brain, etc.), the perfect female graduate student.

1968, summer. Jane and two women graduate student colleagues go to the Summer Linguistics Institute at the University of N and take courses in generative phonology and syntax. (Jane also takes a course in animal communication to please her advisor; fortunately, it is excellent and she completes an interesting study of prairie dogs.) Back at the University of X, their class notes are xeroxed and passed around like underground pamphlets in the Soviet Union before

glasnost. The notes provide an important new core to what is essentially a self-study curriculum.

1969. Graduate students in Dick's department, goaded by a small core of rabble rousers including Dick, fearfully or grudgingly decide to support a campuswide strike over the war in Vietnam. One senior professor holds his seminar around an empty table, actually leaving the room at one point to obtain a 12th empty chair for the 12th absent student (he had noticed the table was one chair short). Graduate students in Jane's department not only strike, they press the department for changes in their own working conditions. This includes their protest of the denial of teaching and research assistant stipends to women graduate students who are married.

1970, spring. Dick completes papers for several courses. All elaborate his central theory of literature and become part of his dissertation. Jane types his papers, and her own.

1970, fall. Dick takes a tenure-track job in the English department at the University of Y, a large midwestern university that appears to have many job prospects for Jane. Dick is told that in his department assistant professors are expected to be "publicacious but not *too* publicacious." He ignores their advice and is very publicacious. But the academic world is hierarchical, conservative, and suspicious of change. Because Dick does "theory" the department head opposes his work and puts notices for positions elsewhere in Dick's mailbox with a note – "You may be interested in exploring this." Dick's dissertation is accepted as a book. Jane works on her dissertation. In January 1970, the Women's Equity Action League files, under Executive Order 11246, the first charges of sex discrimination against an institution. A Congressional hearing subsequently finds widespread discrimination against women throughout the U.S. educational system. Steps are undertaken to remedy this

condition through legislation, regulation, and affirmative action guidelines.

1971. Jane completes her dissertation. This is the year the bottom drops out of the national job market. Jane accordingly embarks on a series of humiliating job interviews at the University of Y. One, set up by a colleague of Dick's, begins "Let's see, who are you supposed to be married to?" Another is held at Uncle John's Pancake House because the interviewer thinks that's "cool." At this time affirmative action has not yet come to the University of Y. Jane has no idea how to "do" an interview, give a paper, or indeed be a professional but she quickly learns the great rule of university hiring: if they can get you, they don't want you. Unfortunately, the only other major employer in the community is Kraft Cheese. With time on her hands, she trains her cat, Puff, to perform a series of show-stopping tricks (though her first rat died, subsequent animals and children did well under her tutelage). When Puff is subsequently featured in a full-page spread in the local newspaper, with photos, Jane sends a copy to President Richard Nixon as evidence of what can be accomplished with an NDEA Fellowship in a depressed job market. She is finally hired over coffee to be a faculty member in an experimental labor-intensive "living learning" program for undergraduates. She is told that this will be a "foot in the door." She is also told that this will not be a "backdoor" entrance to a "real job" (i.e., a tenure-track position). She wonders just which door her foot is in.

1972-75. Dick publishes his book. Jane works 80 hours a week. She teaches courses in communication, linguistics, and animal behavior; she also teaches a course called Women's Liberation: Theoretical Perspectives and Practical Skills. One assignment, her favorite, asks the students to commit an aggressive act. She establishes a university-wide lecture series on feminism which runs weekly for five years. Dick gets tenure. He also begins attending some of the lectures on

feminism and getting interested. Jane attends a colloquium in the linguistics department and finds it incomprehensible. The Vietnam war ends. Nixon resigns. *Roe v Wade* establishes women's right to abortion. *Signs* begins publication. Jane, feeling she is being left behind, begins to get depressed.

1976. Encouraged by a woman colleague from graduate school, now a faculty member at a good university and involved in language and gender research, Jane publishes an article, a linguistic analysis of a novel written by a woman. She is happy. To write more, she reduces her position to half time – i.e., 40 hours a week. The U.S. celebrates its bicentennial, Dick takes a sabbatical, and one of his gay colleagues fails to get tenure, in part on the grounds that he has no wife and family to support.

1977. After much internal debate, Jane accepts a position as Dean of Students at the medical school on campus. A physician there is heard to tell the medical students that he has met her, that she "wears overalls," and "is probably a lesbian." Jane never confirms or denies this. Her salary quadruples. She is the only woman. She is introduced to her new colleagues as a "sweet young thing." Feminist networks and friendships outside and inside the medical school become very important. She reads numerous management books; they are generally worthless but she gets one good tip: men are terrified of women's handbags. Who knows what might be in them? So if you have to ask for something from a male superior, set your handbag on the corner of his desk. He will promise anything to get you – and your handbag – out of his office.

1977. Louise Lamphere and three of her women colleagues file a class action suiit against Brown University for sex discrimination. Among the documents unearthed in the discovery process is a memo from one higher administrator to another complaining that

"These women are troublemaking lesbians who should be handled only one way – put them in a car and do a Chappaquiddick." The University settles out of court in favor of the women.

1978. Dick publishes the lead article in *PMLA*; he is rebuked for using the pronoun he by the MLA Commission on the Status of Women. He begins to reconsider his views on this question. Jane helps organize a huge conference on feminist scholarship at which Dick presents a paper on French feminist theory. Jane wonders whether organizing workshops for medical students on stress, time management, etc., is immoral because it advocates individual adaptation and capitulation rather than institutional change. Meanwhile, the University of Y begins to lose desired faculty members because no suitable jobs exist for their spouses or partners; this becomes known as the "academic spice" problem. Two women administrators are appointed to investigate the situation. Jane is one of the "spice" who testifies to the reality of the problem. The other faculty wives who testify have by and large held their PhDs longer than Jane and have endured far worse humiliations. The women administrators develop a multi-faceted plan for addressing the problem. Responsibility is taken over by a senior administrator who reduces the plan to virtually nothing, crumbs from the University's table. At an auction, Jane runs into the guy who interviewed her at Uncle John's Pancake House. He is now selling real estate. Catharine A. MacKinnon's (1979) analysis of sexual harassment in the workplace is published, suggesting that this is a form of male power that functions to resexualize women in the workplace at a time when they are increasingly achieving equality.

1979. Jane finds she has gum problems but has failed to sign up for dental insurance. She and Dick discuss getting married to obtain dental coverage. She

gets a second opinion. She is told to floss. This solves the problem.

1980. Dick publishes his second book and becomes a full professor. Jane is on 31 committees, has developed multiple symptoms of stress and burnout, and has become so desperate that she even looks into non-academic jobs. She is interviewed at a local employment agency which wants to know her marital status and high school grades. After this inauspicious beginning, things get worse as the interviewer explains the agency's procedures: "Let's just say," he says with a straight face, "that Kraft Cheese has an opening for a linguist."

1982. Jane resigns. But through circumstances and procedures too complex to explain the dean of the medical school shifts her administrative position to a faculty one. The good news is that she is on a tenure track. The bad news is that she is in five different departments. Fortunately, one department never holds meetings.

1985. In collaboration with woman colleagues, Jane publishes two books, one co-authored and one co-edited. The medical school tells her that books may not count for tenure, that her work doesn't use enough "data," and that her writing contains too many big words. Similarly, if more surprisingly, several senior woman scholars in different fields at the university hold a session for junior faculty in which they advise not to waste time giving conference papers, not to do collaborative research, not to conduct feminist research, and not to publish in feminist journals. Jane reflects that she has already broken all these rules. Dick publishes an article on feminist theory. Jane begins writing on AIDS.

1987. A field called cultural studies begins to develop in the United States. Jane can now say she does cultural studies. Only one year is left in Reagan's

presidency. *Roe v. Wade* is called into question. Dick publishes an article on sexism and racism in the English profession.

1988. Jane gets tenure, 17 years after receiving her Ph.D. The tenure and promotion process has been one of her most pleasant experiences at the University of Y. True to form, the day after the Board of Trustees officially approves her promotion, they vote to close her branch of the medical school. Happily, this decision is reversed.

1989. Dick is happy in his work. Jane is happy in her work too. Nevertheless, she has taken some satisfaction in writing this chronology.

DICK AND JANE: THE LESSONS

What can we say about how Dick and Jane got tenure? Embodying several features of university culture, their narrative suggests some general lessons.

1. University culture has evolved as a world inhabited by the Dick and Jane of old: Dick as teacher, dean, president, coach – Jane as wife, housekeeper. And despite the gains of recent years, we should not underestimate the legacies of a Dick and Jane world. A Congressional inquiry concluded in 1970 that "nepotism rules constitute de facto, if not de jure, discrimination against women." Harvard, for example, would employ father and son but not husband and wife in full-time tenured posts. Dr. Marie Goeppert Mayer, the first woman to win the Nobel Prize for physics since Marie Curie, was married to a man who is also a physicist. Department after department hired him while graciously allowing her to use the laboratory facilities free. Such cases may be rarer today, and offset by visible women in good jobs. But overall men are still more likely to

follow linear career patterns and to hold traditional disciplinary positions. Women are more likely to have to shift research areas, gain footholds in strange places, and build careers out of messy realities.

In the 1970s, the spectre of these grim realities loomed large for women in institutions and sustained them in struggling for equality. As Ann Sutherland Harris, assistant professor of art history at Columbia University, testified to Congress, "I am only one of thousands of women who believe that Congress will be increasingly occupied in the 1970s with the legislation necessary to insure that women have equal rights and equal opportunities in the United States." (For this and similar statemnts, see Stimpson, ed.)

2. Two decades later, there is less faith that equality can ever be "insured." Further, it is clear that some moves to regulate and regularize the academy to protect women from exploitation may be effective for some women but in fact destroy important niches for others. Jane's career illustrates that the niches may be crucial. Eventually, she was able to have a happy productive career without doing it by the book. It was not easy – though as Dick's career shows, doing it by the book is not always easy either. Despite the value Jane might claim for being interdisciplinary and nontraditional, however, she would not be likely to advocate her "career path" for other women. She would probably argue that institutional efforts to achieve fairness and equality should be intensified, in part by eliminating sources of exploitation. Yet some of these sources were what enabled her to stay connected to the institution long enough to begin publishing. Regulations and guidelines always carry tradeoffs; and rules that appear to be gender-neutral will not necessarily combat sexism in the long run.

3. Both men and women encounter problems that are institutional and cultural as well as individual. Nellie McKay writes that "Racism, classism, sexism, and elitism are rampant in the mainstream academy, in spite of major changes in the makeup of student and faculty bodies, and drastic revisions of curriculums in most colleges and universities." Amid the growing diversity of the academy and talk of change everywhere, it is easy to lose sight of the underlying institutional structures and practices that guide everyday life. As this chronology has suggested, institutional life did not get that way by accident: or as Paolo Freire writes, "All educational practice implies a theoretical stance on the educator's part." The Brown University catalogue depicts an institution of remarkable sexual equality – small group discussions of sexist issues, courses in women's studies across the curriculum, nontraditional career counseling. The catalogue makes change look easy; but what it reflects is part of the legacy of the Lamphere case. These activities were mandated in the consent decree (Farley 1982: 54-55).

4. The rule for the distribution of women in the academic world is still a simple one: the higher, the fewer. This parallels the culture at large. Barbara Reskin, a sociologist whose ongoing research involves the detailed scrutiny of gender in the U.S. work force, finds that despite ingenious efforts to create the appearance of equality, this rule (the higher, the fewer) still applies to most job categories (Reskin and Roos 1989). The restructuring of the job category is one technique: many more women today are *bakers*, for example, than two decades ago. But the category is much broader than it used to be, for among other things it now includes the large number of women who do supermarket "bake-off" baking, the final on-site baking at retail outlets of factory-prepared bakery products. While deskilled degraded women's work is added to the broad category, the elite group of

pastry chefs remains almost entirely male. Then there are name changes. More women *managers* appear in corporations today; but in many cases, jobs have been retitled to achieve this effect. Yesterday's *Gal Friday* is today's *Communications Management Specialist*, a title that upgrades the organization's statistics but not the woman's salary. And from fields like medicine, which women really are entering in greater numbers, the men bail out and head for the still unregulated territories: computers, corporations, and Wall Street.

These lessons lead us to ask why institutions resist change so forcefully. Karl Mannheim, the German sociologist, posits two contrasting ways in which reality is socially perceived or constructed: he labels these *ideology* and *utopia*. Ideology constructs reality – and experience – in such a way that the status quo is reinforced. Utopia constructs reality and experience in such a way that the status quo is challenged in favor of a different vision. Women's presence in the university in the last two decades illuminates this tension between the vision of what is and the vision of what could be. From a different perspective, Gerald Coles' (1977) article "Dick and Jane Grow Up" identifes several common ideological strategies used by institutions to resist change and silence dissent. We can adapt Coles' strategies as follows for the academy:

a. **harmony of interests:** Members of the academy believe that what's good for the university is good for the individual [cf. what's good for General Motors is good for the country]. This strategy embodies turn of the century denial of class interests, asserting instead that the university is working in the interests of all.

b. **blaming the victim:** A social, institutional problem is explained by attributing its cause to the individual failings or deficiencies of those who are

the problem's victims. "She didn't get tenure because her work wasn't good enough, not because tenure proceedings are discriminatory."

c. **individualism:** Problems are solved through individual effort and grit, not through collective or class solutions. Merit will be rewarded, individual effort is the important thing, "I-ness" not "We-ness" is what America is all about. "I had to do it on my own without any help from men, the university, or the federal government. These women today are complaining because they want the rewards without the hard work."

d. **"happy consciousness":** Marcuse's term for the belief that the established system is rational and just, that despite problems and aberrations it provides people with satisfying lives. The system assumes the role of moral agent and critical thinking comes to be seen as inappropriate. The ability to grasp contradictions and alternatives atrophies. "Looking back, it wasn't so bad. It made me work harder and gave me even more satisfaction once I did get promoted. Basically, the University is a good place to be – better than Exxon, that's for sure."

Taking the massive resistance of institutions into account, Dick and Jane's experience suggests we may need a quicker, more efficient remedy. A final lesson, then: Some people need brain transplants. Nothing short of this will do.

References

Coles, Gerald S. 1977. Dick and Jane Grow Up: Ideology in Adult Basic Education Readers. Urban Education 12(1):37-54.

Farley, Jennie. 1982. Academic Women and Employment Discrimination: A Critical Annotated Bibliography. Ithaca: ILR Publications.

MacKinnon, Catharine A. 1979. Sexual Harassment of Working Women: A Case of Sex Discrimination. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Mannheim, Karl. 1936. Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1985.

McKay, Nellie. 1988. In Deneef, A. Leigh, Cranfurd D. Goodwin, and Ellen Stern McCrate, eds. The Academic's Handbook. Durham: Duke University Press.

Reskin, Barbara and Patricia Roos. 1989. The Feminization of Male Occupations: Integration, Ghettoization, or Resegregation? Presented at the First Annual Women's Policy Research Conference, Institute for Women's Policy Research, Washington DC, May 19.

Robinson, Helen M. et al. 1962. The New Guess Who. Chicago: Scott, Foresman.

Sargent, Lydia. 1988. Living on Cherry Street. Zeta magazine: 26-27.

Scott, Kathryn P. 1981. Whatever Happened to Jane and Dick? Sexism in Texts Reexamined. Peabody Journal of Education 58(3):135-140.

Stimpson, Catherine R., ed. 1973. Discrimination Against Women. New York: R.R. Bowker.

Storey, John. 1979-80. "Dick Does" and "Jane Watches": Sex-Role Stereotyping in the Curriculum. Interchange 10(2):15-19.

Success and Failure: Expectations and Attributions

Virginia Valian
Hunter College and CUNY Graduate Center

Women in academia are less successful than men: they make less money, they get promoted more slowly, and they get tenured more slowly. (See data collected by Davison and by Disterheft, this volume, for specific information about the representation of women in linguistics; see Vetter, 1989, for recent summary data on scientists; see Valian, 1989, for more extensive treatment.) Why are women less successful? One reason is that women's good performance is not evaluated as positively as men's good performance is. A variety of observational and laboratory studies show that men and women alike evaluate men's performance more highly than they evaluate women's, even when the performances are objectively equal.[1]

I'll give one example: Fidell (1975) asked chairs of psychology departments to assign ranks to possible (fictitious) candidates, based on summary information, including data like teaching experience, research productivity, years since Ph.D., and so on. Each vita summary appeared sometimes with a male name and sometimes with a female name.

The average rank assigned male candidates was associate professor; the average rank assigned female candidates was assistant professor. Thus, a woman's good performance buys her less than a man's good performance buys him. That is the first fact we will want to explain.

A second reason women are less successful in salary, rank, and tenure is that they are less successful as researchers: they are somewhat less productive than men (see references in Finkelstein, 1984, but keep in

mind that most of the references are earlier than 1979; see Reskin, 1978, for specific data on chemists with Ph.D.'s obtained between 1955 and 1961). The extent to which women are less productive than men cannot explain all the imbalance in women's pay and rank, because the discrepancy in productivity is less than the salary and rank discrepancy. Nevertheless, women do appear to be less productive.

That is the second fact we will want to explain.

I will draw on two social-psychological processes - expectations and attributions - to explain both why we evaluate women's performance less positively than men's, and why women are less productive than men. Geis, Carter, & Butler (1982) should be consulted for an illuminating discussion of the role of expectations and stereotypes in negative evaluations of women; I have adopted much of their analysis.

Let's first try to explain why we evaluate women more negatively than men. Women in general are perceived, by both women and men, as less competent than men, in areas where women are traditionally absent and men are traditionally present. Further, women are generally perceived as expressive, communal, and concerned about others, while men are generally perceived as assertive, instrumental, and agentic. Women feel, and express their feelings; men act. (See Eagly, 1987, for a summary discussion of the content of sex role stereotypes; Spence & Helmreich, 1978; Spence & Sawin, 1985).

Our stereotypes about men and women constitute informal theories about them (Geis et al, 1982). On the basis of our informal theories, we have certain expectations about men's and women's achievement in academia, a traditionally male environment. In particular, we expect women to do less well than men, and we interpret the data we get in light of our theory. We tend to discount women's good performance, because

it doesn't fit our theory - we either ignore women's good performance or see it as exceptional. Since a great deal of academic performance is ambiguous, and in need of interpretation, our theory about women and men directs our interpretation of their performance. Thus, one reason we undervalue women's performance is that our a priori expectation of women's performance is that it will be inferior to men's performance.

The second reason is more involved. It concerns what we attribute men's and women's successes and failures to[2]. Roughly, we can attribute our and others' performance to four causes: ability, effort, luck, or the nature of the task (Weiner, Frieze, Kukla, Reed, Rest, & Rosenbaum, 1971; but see, e.g., Weiner, 1983, for other types of attributions). In the domain of male achievement areas, the literature suggests that when a man succeeds, he and we tend to attribute his success to his ability, and also to the effort he put forward (see references, and qualifications, in Deaux, 1984; Wallston & O'Leary, 1981). Success redounds to his credit, and is a sign that he can succeed in the future. Each time a man succeeds he and we encode a picture of him as competent and effective, and add it to other such pictures. The man's success calls to our mind his other successes, which we have encoded as due to his ability, and consolidates our picture of him as competent.

When a woman succeeds, she and we tend to attribute her success to luck, or to the task's being easy, or to her very high effort, or all three (see Wallston & O'Leary, 1981). She has succeeded against expectation, and we find explanations for her success that maintain our theory of male-female differences. Success does not especially redound to a woman's credit, because we do not attribute it to her ability, and therefore we do not build up a picture of her as competent. We have no confidence that she will be successful in the future, because for her to be successful in the future she would

have to be lucky again, or have an easy task again, or work very hard again - all very unstable attributes.

When a man fails, he and we tend to attribute his failure to the difficulty of the task, or lack of effort, or both. Failure is of course bad, and costly for everyone. But when a man fails, we can discount his failure. When a woman fails, she and we tend to attribute her failure to lack of ability. Her failure is likely to call to our minds all her other failures, which were also interpreted as due to lack of ability. We will naturally be pessimistic about her prospects for future success, because people have no control over their ability.

To oversimplify a bit: we see men as deserving their successes, and women as deserving their failures.

What can we do about this? We need to put ourselves in a position to challenge our implicit theories about men and women. One suggestion is to review objectively similar events that happen to men and women we know, and analyze our reactions to them. For example, if we have negatively evaluated a woman we can try to find a comparable behavior by a man, and see whether we evaluated him comparably. Similarly, if we have positively evaluated a man, we can try to find a comparable behavior by a woman, and see whether we evaluated her comparably. It may take several people working together to do this. The result should be that we make more explicit the bases on which we are evaluating men and women, and thereby prevent ourselves from drawing biased and inaccurate conclusions.

I want now to apply the notions of expectations and attributions to the question of why men are more productive than women. Our expectations affect not only how we interpret data, but independently help determine what data we will receive. The term "expectancy effects" refers to people's tendency to act in accord with other people's tacit expectations of them.

One vivid demonstration of this effect (Snyder, Tanke, & Berscheid, 1977) was an experiment in which male and female college students who were unknown to each other were asked to have telephone conversations. Half the males were shown a picture of a very attractive woman, and told, incorrectly, that she was the woman they would be talking to; half were shown a picutre of an unattractive woman. Other male students then listened to the female half of these conversations and were asked to rate the women in terms of attractiveness. The women who had spoken to men who had been told they were attractive were rated as more attractive than those who had spoken to men who had been told they were unattractive.

Expectancy effects have been hypothesized to operate in children's school performance (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968) and in men's and women's patterns of achievements (Deaux, 1984). In this case, we expect women not to achieve to the same degree men do; we signal that absence of expectation via a number of subtle cues; and women live up (or down) to the expectations that are set for them. This is one possible explanation of the fact that women indicate less interest in research, especially pure research, than men do (see references in Finkelstein, 1984). Our expectation is that women will be less interested in research, which is a "man's job", and women respond appropriately.

An interesting point in this respect concerns women's understanding of their job. We know from other research that, when a job is clearly spelled out to women, they tend to work harder and more efficiently than men, for the same amount of pay (Major, McFarlin, & Gagnon, 1984). Typically, women work hard at whatever they conceive their job to be. An obvious answer to the question of why women are less productive than men is that women tend not to perceive their job in terms of research and publication productivity. Rather, they tend

to perceive it in terms of teaching and service, and perform accordingly.

One possible basis for such perceptions is the expectations that are covertly communicated to women. I know of no data, but it seems likely to me that a poor teaching evaluation of a woman faculty member would be taken much more seriously than a poor teaching evaluation of a man. We don't particularly expect men to be good teachers (although they are in fact rated as highly overall as women are; see references in Finkelstein, 1984), and don't react that negatively if they are poor teachers; in contrast, we do expect women to be good teachers, and women expect it of themselves.

Given the expectations that we have of women, women will find certain aspects of their job more salient than others. Teaching is salient in any event, because it is a scheduled obligation. Our expectations of women, which derive from our implicit theories about them, will heighten the salience of teaching and service.

Some data that support such an interpretation are that women indicate a greater interest in teaching than do men, more women than men have a broad conception of what it means to be a good teacher (e.g., contributing to students' emotional development), and more women than men think that teaching should play a larger role in promotion decisions than it does (see references in Finkelstein, 1984).

Let's now look at success and failure from the point of view of how attributions work. First, however, note that women are likely to fail at a higher rate than men. Women are probably more likely than men to be negatively evaluated on grant proposals and in paper submissions. As a result, women may correctly be perceiving that their efforts at productivity are too costly in terms of time and effort. In line with this, if it is true that the usual determinants of success do not predict

women's achievement as well as men's (because their performance is discounted on account of their sex), then it is rational for women to perceive their success, when it does arrive, as due to luck.

The second thing to note is that, even if we discount the possibility of different rates of failure, there is the fact of failure itself. Both men and women are bound to fail: grant proposals get rejected, papers get rejected, people don't invite one to give talks, and so on. Even worse, one's ideas sometimes do not work out. Failure is inevitable; perseverance in the face of failure is required for success.

Now we can see how attributions for success and failure will be critical. Remember that when a man succeeds, he and we tend to attribute his success to his ability. For the man himself, the sheer experience of having succeeded should call to mind other successful experiences, along with their interpretation, and give him confidence about his future effectiveness. A man benefits psychologically from his successes.

When a man fails, he and we tend to attribute his failure to lack of effort, bad luck, or a difficult task. A man need not see his current failure as predictive of future failure. If he interprets his failure as due to a very hard task, he will simply conclude that academic work is difficult. If the failure is encoded as due to lack of effort, that is more serious, and the experience of failure will call to mind other occasions when he didn't try hard enough. He may castigate himself for tending not to try hard enough, but at least the remedy is clear. A man's failure tells him the task is hard and that he should try harder. His memory of successes reassures him that he is able, and will eventually be successful. A man's attribution pattern inoculates him against failure.

A woman's experience is different. Recall that when a woman succeeds, she and we tend to interpret her

success as a lucky shot, or as due to having had an especially easy task, or to having put out very great effort. That will give her no confidence about her future effectiveness. When a woman fails, she and we attribute her failure to lack of ability. A woman will see her current failure as predictive of future failure, because she attributes her failure to a stable uncontrollable cause - lack of ability. Women are thus less likely to persevere in the face of failure. Perseverance is irrational if your ability is low.

In this connection, there are data suggesting that at the beginning of their career, men and women are similar in rate of publication, and that the disparity between them increases in mid-career (see Finklestein, 1984). There may, of course, be many explanations for the phenomenon, but it fits in with the suggestion I am making here. Women and men may start out roughly equal in attempts at research productivity, but because of different interpretations of the significance of failure, they make different, equally rational, decisions about how to react to failure. Remember, however, that the disparity in productivity between men and women is not that large. Given the reasons for lower productivity by women, it is surprising, and encouraging, that they are so productive.

I'd like to end with a few additional suggestions about how women's status in academia can be improved, and how women's productivity can increase. Department chairs and senior colleagues should: 1) make the criteria for success as clear as possible to young men and women equally; 2) hold equally challenging expectations for young men and women; 3) provide clear, constructive, evaluations of women's performance.

What can individual women themselves do? Women need to seek and obtain information about the specific criteria for success. For example, women need to know what the high-ranking journals in their field are, and

what sort of reputation different journals have, so that they know where to try to publish their work. I personally have been surprised by women's lack of knowledge about journals.

Women also need to analyze the requirements for success in obtaining grants and in getting papers published. For example, it is useful to read successful grant proposal in areas as close to one's own as possible, and work out what makes them successful. In my own area of language acquisition I have seen that a convincing grant proposal makes clear, among other things, that the proposed experiments will be of value regardless of how they turn out. By knowing what is required, one can try to meet the requirements, and success can then be interpreted as due to having implemented a successful strategy, rather than as due to luck. It is important for women to learn what constitutes a good performance in any area.

In particular, it is important to learn the specifics of good performance. It will not help very much, for example, to tell oneself that one's grant proposal should be creative, significant, scholarly, and well-organized. All that is of course true but those recommendations are too global and vague: it's not clear how to follow them, nor whether one has succeeded. Instead, one needs to form specific versions of those recommendations. For example, one's proposal should state how the planned research is different from what has already been accomplished. Even if one believes that the proposal has few if any novel features, one can say what they are, neither exaggerating nor diminishing them. Similarly, the proposal should state what gaps in the field will be filled by the proposed research, what the implications of the research will be for certain current issues, and so on.

At a more personal psychological level, women need to supplement the failures they receive with successes. Women will experience failure, more than their fair

share, but they can do something to increase their experience of success, by presenting and discussing their work with others who will make constructive suggestions. The presentations and discussions can range from 1:1 discussions, to talks at conferences and colloquia. As do men, women can offer to give a colloquium at other institutions.

Simply experiencing success, however, is not enough. Attribution "retraining" is necessary. When women succeed, they need to analyze their success, especially their own contribution to their success. When women fail, they need to analyze their failure, considering both their own possible contribution, and that of external factors. What this amounts to is intervening in one's own psychology - understanding it and changing it.

Notes

[1] While it is true that many studies demonstrate poorer evaluation of women than of men, the majority of studies show no differences in evaluation. A recent meta-analysis (Swim, Borgida, Maruyama, & Myers, 1989) quantitatively reviewed 123 studies, all concerned with evaluations of material supposedly produced by either a male or female. The materials evaluated ranged from prose passages, to art work, to biographical or professional information. In some cases only the material was presented, in other cases an actor was recorded or audiotaped. The results of the meta-analysis showed that, across all the studies, there was only a very small negative bias in evaluating women, even when findings showing no difference were excluded.

From study to study findings varied a great deal, suggesting that there are factors that will determine when bias will be larger or smaller. For example, material which was sex-neutral tended to be judged more negatively when produced by a woman than a man, while material which was stereotypically feminine

showed no such tendency. Similarly, evaluations of job applications show larger bias against women than do ordinary prose passages.

Perhaps the safest course at present is to limit the breadth of generalization we draw about negative evaluations of women in two ways. First, we should keep in mind the specific characteristics of the studies that show significant effects. Second, we should place more weight on those experimental studies whose effects are consistent with naturalistic studies of women's achievement.

2 Throughout, I speak of men in general and women in general. It is obviously not the case that all men behave one way and all women another, nor that we respond to all men in one way and to all women in another. But there is a modal man and a modal woman, and it is such modal persons that I am describing.

References

Deaux, K. (1984). From individual differences to social categories. American Psychologist, 39,105-116.

Eagly, A.H. (1987). Sex differences in social behavior: a social- role interpretation. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Fidell, L.S. (1975). Empirical verification of sex discrimination in hiring practices in psychology. In R.K. Unger & F.L. Denmark (Eds.), Woman: dependent or independent variable? (pp. 774-782). New York: Psychological Dimensions, Inc.

Finkelstein, M.J. (1984). The status of academic women: an assessment of five competing explanations. Review of Higher Education, 7, 223-246.

Geis, F.L., Carter, M.R., & Butler, D.J. (19Ɛ2). Research on seeing and evaluating people. Unpublished manuscript, Office of Women's Affairs, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware 19711.

Major, B., McFarlin, D.B., & Gagnon, D. (1984). Overworked and underpaid: on the nature of gender differences in personal entitlement. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 47, 1399-1412.

Reskin, B.F. (1978). Scientific productivity, sex, and location in the institution of science. American Journal of Sociology, 83, 1235- 1243.

Rosenthal, R. & Jacobson, L. (1968). Pygmalion in the classroom. NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Snyder, M., Tanke, E.D., & Berscheid, E. (1977). Social perception and interpersonal behavior: on the self-fufilling nature of social stereotypes. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 35, 656-666.

Spence, J.T. & Helmreich, R.L. (1978). Masculinity and femininity: their psychological dimensions, correlates, and antecdents. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Spence, J.T. & Sawin, L.L (1985). Images of masculinity and femininity: a reconceptualization. In V.E. O'Leary, R.K. Unger, & B.S. Wallston (Eds.), Women, gender, and social psychology (pp. 35-66). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Swim, J., Borgida, E., Maruyama, G., & Myers, D.G. (1989). Joan McKay versus John McKay: do gender stereotypes bias evaluations? Psychological Bulletin, 105, 409-429.

Valian, V. (1989). The evaluation of women in academia. Unpublished manuscript, Hunter College.

Vetter, B. M. (1989). Bad news for women scientists - and the country. The AAAS Observer, 10.

Wallston, B.S. & O'Leary, V.E. (1981). Sex makes a difference: differential perceptions of women and men. In L. Wheeler (Ed.), Review of personality and social psychology (Vol. 2, pp. 9-41). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Weiner, B., Frieze, I., Kukla, A., Reed, L., Rest, S. & Rosenbaum, R.M. (1971). Perceiving the causes of success and failure. Morristown, NJ: General Learning Press.

Weiner, B. (1983). Some methodological pitfalls in attributional research. Journal of Educational Psychology, 75, 530-543.

Personal and Professional Networks

Penelope Eckert
University of Illinois at Chicago
Institute for Research on Learning

Introduction

One of the most important tools of the career, academic or otherwise, is the professional network. Social networks (of which the professional network is one kind) are conduits for information, influence, goods and services. In general, women in academics do not participate fully in their professional networks, and as a result they frequently find themselves without influence and at a loss for a variety of resources. Of course, there are also men who are excluded from networks, but such exclusion is based on a variety of accidental circumstances – personal characteristics, theoretical framework, field, etc. But in a network that is composed largely of white males and in a hierarchy that is dominated by white males, anything that prevents an individual from building and servicing his or her network in the ways that white men do will create exclusion. In this sense, the exclusion of women and minorities is systematic – not necessarily a result of active discrimination, but of neglect. The following discussion will focus on women's problems in developing and maintaining professional networks, but it should be clear that many of these problems are shared by minority men and compounded for minority women.

What are Networks For?

A social network is a matrix of individuals connected by a particular kind of relationship – e.g. kinship, friendship, neighborhood, an activity. The individual belongs to any number of networks, which may overlap to varying degrees. Networks are characterized not only by their members and the connections between them,

but by the resources that flow through these connections, and by the norms that govern the flow of the resources. The individual's access to resources depends on the number of connections he or she can activate in these overlapping networks. Activation depends on both the number and the quality of contacts: one needs to be connected to people with important resources, and one needs to maintain the quality of those connections. Thus one must balance the size and heterogeneity of one's connections with the ability to service them. Servicing involves not simply interacting with individuals, but over the long term trading resources such as influence, information, loyalty, visibility (Boissevain 1974).

The most obvious illustration of the importance of networks is that all-important career juncture, getting a job. For the purposes of this short discussion, I will focus on the individual's first academic job, right out of graduate school (already, as we have seen at this conference, not always the scenario for a woman).

Before the days of affirmative action guidelines, academic jobs were gotten overwhelmingly through personal contacts. According to Brown (1965, 1967 cited in Granovetter (1974) p. 6), 84% of college and university teaching jobs were found through other than public sources (i.e. ads, agencies etc.): 65% through personal contacts, 19% through direct application (i.e. "blind" letters). It was common for departments to fill positions by asking selected people in the field to recommend one of their students, and it was common in those days for unconnected individuals never even to hear of the better jobs.

Nowadays, although the academic job seeker does not need personal contacts to find out what jobs are available, these contacts must spring into action if the applicant is to be competitive with the many others who are now applying. The applicant needs contacts in order to ferret out information crucial to the application

process: whether there's an inside candidate, what kind of person they're really looking for, whether the job can be up- or down- graded, what the politics of the department and the position are. The applicant needs this information in order to build strategy at each stage of the hiring process: how to pitch the letter of application, whom to ask for letters of recommendation (and how to advise them to pitch those letters), what publications to send, what kind of job talk to give, whom to be wary of, whom to go to for further information, how to negotiate hiring terms. The applicant also needs contacts to lobby with members of the hiring deparment in informal phone calls or conversations at meetings. And, finally, applicants may be in a particularly strong position if they already have some visibility in the hiring department – if someone knows them or knows of them. This visibility is not necessarily based on the individual's work, but can be based on the kind of simple familiarity that comes from personal contact. Nowadays by the time the well-connnected individual is looking for a beginning academic job, he or she may be able to call on contacts well beyond the home institution. This may be particularly true in linguistics, where the summer Institute provides graduate students with the means to establish contacts with people from other universities, and particularly to acquire teachers (and in this case mentors) from universities other than their own. The ante, then, has risen considerably in recent years, and with it, the need for the early development of a professional network.

Information about jobs, of course, is only a small part of the resources that flow in academic networks. Among the other resources are influence, visibility, and information about such things as jobs, funding, subject matter (including current and planned research, unpublished or yet-unpublished research), intellectual and academic politics, and the network itself.

Combining the Personal and the Professional

The individual's professional network is actually a set of overlapping institutional, intellectual, professional, and personal networks, and the way in which the individual combines these networks is extremely important for success. Two sets of professional networks that are crucial to the academic career are the networks that make up the field, and the networks that make up the home institution. Any individual in academics must simultaneously service institutional and disciplinary networks (and any individual whose work is truly interdisciplinary must service two or multiple sets of networks of each kind). One considerable advantage enjoyed by people in larger and more prominent linguistics departments is the greater overlap between those two sets of networks. This advantage is brought home in Battistella and Lobeck's discussion in this volume, as they describe the amount of time that linguists in marginalized situations must spend servicing non-linguistic networks simply to ensure their position in the home institution.

Because of the overlap of personal and academic networks, a good deal of personal information flows in academic networks, and a good deal of academic information flows in personal networks. It is for this reason that one cannot afford to be ignorant of personal ties, but also, and more important, personal networks become a key locus for the flow of professional resources. By combining personal with professional ties, the individual maximizes his or her servicing efforts, as professional resources get exchanged in personal encounters. The fact that professional resources get exchanged in personal encounters creates an ecology in which information of professional importance, by virtue of spreading in informal and private situations, may never come up in public situations. Influence also resides in private groups – many department problems have been resolved in bars, restaurants, poker games,

people's homes. And many of the important developments in the field have their origins in regularly-interacting groups, as colleagues who interact regularly on an informal basis reinforce their mutual interests and negotiate ideas, plan strategy, organize conferences, start journals. Another informational need that arises from the combination of personal and professional networks is personal information – who is friends or lovers with whom, who is married to whom, who doesn't associate with whom. This kind of information can be extremely valuable in navigating one's own way through the professional world, and its lack can be dangerous. In short, one learns about the social structure of institutions and of the field by learning how the personal and the professional dovetail, and in order to be privy to much of this information, one must spend large amounts of time in casual and personal talk with the people who make up the network. In other words, the person with no access to these informal situations can be at a serious disadvantage.

If it is apparent that the combination of personal and professional networks maximizes the flow of career resources, it is also apparent that this combination puts women at a disadvantage for several reasons. If an individual's personal situation and/or activities are seen as incompatible with professionalism, the mixing of personal and professional networks can feed damaging information into the professional network. The threat of this is clearly greater for women than for men. Simply appearing in the role of homemaker or mother has traditionally been professonally damaging to women. Appearing as the more powerless member of a couple is, needless to say, damaging. Appearing as a sexual being – whether in a conventional relationship or otherwise – is more damaging to a woman's professional image than to a man's, and certainly traditional norms for women make them far more vulnerable to the leakage of "negative" personal information. Finally, to the extent that a woman actually participates in a male personal

network she and her male friends are vulnerable to sexual gossip and suspicion, which are generally more damaging to the woman. This sexual complication will be discussed further below.

One of the difficulties preventing women from access to networks is the otherwise inocuous tendency towards same-sex activities and friendship networks. It is common for male colleagues to play or watch sports, play poker, go camping, go out for lunch or drinks, do home projects, hang out – with each other. In some of these cases, there may be a woman who also fits in – a woman who plays poker or is a sports fan – but this is unusual, and in most of the cases I know of the woman is not single. Male students fit more easily into these men's networks, and while same-sex networks and activities may arise among academic women, the sexual balance of power makes these networks less powerful than the men's networks. A final difficulty for women in the combination of personal and professional networks is that domestic responsibilities still frequently constrain women's social activities, preventing them from servicing their ties in the way that single people and most married men can. A woman with children, particularly if she is single, is prevented from building networks on a variety of counts: the fact that her motherhood may be seen as conflicting with professionalism is compounded when domestic responsibilities interfere with professional activities and networking.

Building the Network

Becoming a member of a network is usually a matter of many small interactions – one meets people, and through them other people. It is as important to know how the network is structured as to know who is in it. The individual's professional network, therefore, is a continually building set of contacts and relations. An important component of success is beginning early on to

think of oneself as part of a professional network. The student's professional network usually begins within his or her graduate department, whose professors are the main conduit to networks in the field. To choose a starting point, I will begin with one's first year in graduate school, although in fact more and more students are beginning their linguistics networks as undergraduates.

One meets professors and students in the classroom, around the department, and at formal social occasions. Many departments have lounges, or a favorite restaurant or bar where people hang out. Frequently people go out after classes, lectures, or departmental functions. The usual way for an individual to be part of these sorties is to be around, tag along, invite him or herself, or even suggest the sortie itself. In theory, this is equally possible for male and female students. But any amount of careful thought will make it clear that women suffer problems in these situations that men do not.

Sex and the Network

A major problem that women encounter from the very beginning is sex, even ignoring the hazards that women face in sexual relationships in school or in the workplace. A woman who pursues contacts with men or with male-dominated groups is commonly seen as sexually available or aggressive. And a man and woman who spend much time together are commonly assumed to be sexually interested, if not involved. Women, therefore, are constrained against pursuing contacts by unsureness about men's interpretation of this pursuit or motives in accepting it, by fear of rumors, and by withdrawal on the part of some men who are worried about rumors.

Sexual harassment by faculty is a problem of great concern, as is the withdrawal of male faculty from contact with female students for fear of harassment charges. But a related problem that does not get much

discussion is sexual harassment by fellow students. It may be felt that such harassment is relatively inocuous since fellow students are not in a position of power, but its effect creates barriers to women trying to build common networks with their harassers. I have heard many stories from female graduate students about annoying, unpleasant and ugly incidents with male fellow students in the context of normal student contact: a group trip to the local hangout, a study session, a walk home. These incidents have ranged from insistent courtship to indecent proposals to rape. Some of these are harmful in themselves, and all of them commonly lead the woman to withdraw from the kinds of situations in which they occurred, disrupting her integration into professional networks. Any woman's life is full of volumes of stories about incidents that make them withdraw, however temporarily, from networks or parts of networks.

The dangers of "hanging out" are perhaps even clearer at conferences, where the hotel setting adds to the sexual background. Think of the innumerable settings at conferences, where the student who happens to be around the professor at the right time may get introduced to, or even invited out with, a colleague of the professor's from another university. The female student who hangs around her male professor enough to enhance her chances of being there when it matters is more often than not likely to enhance her reputation as "going after" the professor. And indeed the professor who does not want to be suspected of fooling around with his female students may well discourage such hanging around. Indeed, the female who wishes to introduce herself to a man she knows only by reputation, perhaps to ask him a question or tell him about her work, or simply to get to know him or to let him know who she is, runs a risk that a male does not.

Perhaps for linguists, the place where these dynamics are the most intense is at the Linguistic Institute. The

following excerpt from a letter that appeared in the 1989 Linguistic Institute newsletter (Schafer 1989) is a poignant illustration for this discussion :

> Recently a number of us have been discussing an unfortunate aspect of some of our interactions here at the institute -- the misinterpretation of interest as a desire for casual sex. Many of us have heard that this is a common part of the Institute experience, but to our knowledge, there has been no forum to discuss reactions to it. This letter is such a forum.
>
> The thoughts reported below are bits from conversations with a variety of people concerning this letter. Some of the thoughts are angry, others humorous -- only one person spoken to was unaware of the situation. Yet in all of the conversations I've heard and heard reported, one sentiment consistently stands out: we want to remain open to the exciting and interesting people we have met here. The opening of our personal space is the fun part! But at times we have felt our space being pushed on. I feel it is important to give voice to this simple fact: none of us likes to be pushed on.
>
> This is not a forum for passing judgements on the viability of sexual/love relations begun here or on those of us involved in them. Rather, my concern -- and I think that of those whose thoughts are collected here -- is how the possibility of being misinterpreted limits the relationships that we can form. With disappointment I attribute the source of these misinterpretations to our learned attitudes about the roles men and women take on when interacting with each other.

In this discussion of the sexual background of women's access to the professional network, one cannot ignore

another part of the academic woman's network – faculty wives. There is an age-old problem of tension between faculty wives and female students and faculty. It is all too common for these two groups to accept mutual conflict, but in fact they are in an important sense suffering from the same problem. Both groups are vulnerable because of their relatively powerless position in male-dominated situations. In view of the number of men who have left their wives for women students and colleagues, one cannot deny that female professionals pose a real threat to faculty wives. In defense against this threat, wives frequently create barriers for them by excluding them socially, by being overtly hostile, and by imposing constraints on their husbands. Wives may not like to hear about their husbands' contacts with women at meetings, at social gatherings, or even in purely academic settings. This can deprive women of a variety of opportunities. And they may not like to hear their husbands – or others for that matter – extolling the virtues, intellectual or otherwise, of other women. I have witnessed one consequence of this at numerous faculty dinner parties, where male students are discussed freely while discussion of female students is highly constrained. The men, whether out of tact or in an effort to prevent problems, may well restrict their discussion to male students, thus lowering the female student's visibility. Worse yet, if they do discuss the female students, they may be sure to include negative comments or the wives may provide those themselves. I hasten to point out that the faculty wives I have in mind are not just those who are fulltime housewives – a dwindling group – they may be professionals, even academics, themselves. The same woman may indeed play both roles in this problem simultaneously.

Of course, sexual rumors are not only a threat to graduate students. Incidents such as that reported in Louanna Furbee's paper in this volume, in which a female assistant professor was assumed to be having an affair with a close colleague, is an example of something

that may well be the rule rather than the exception. I know of several cases in which women's tenure cases were compromised by rumors that they were having an affair or affairs (one rumor, indeed, claimed that there were something like a dozen) with male colleagues.

Conclusions

The professional marginalization of women does not begin in the workplace; it is an extension of socialization as a girl and then as a woman, and it continues in education and professional training. So many of the things that lead to marginalization are the small things that a woman grows up learning to ignore, or to treat as annoyances. Individual women may come to recognize their exclusion gradually, as they discover bits of "common knowledge" that they do not share. These discoveries are accidental, since the individual who is not well integrated into a network cannot even know what resources he or she is being deprived of. Often it is the accumulation of small "inocuous" events and constraints that causes a woman's problems in academics, rather than gross instances of sex discrimination or sexual harassment. Herein lies a double bind, because while one can complain about the latter, the petty nature of the former renders them unreportable, exposing complainers to ridicule. Yet these small events and constraints add up to a serious problem in the history of each woman, and in the overall population of academic women. They are not simply annoyances that accumulate in the woman's memory; many of them constitute a very real and negative accumulation in her professional development.

It is certainly part of the individual's professional responsibility to develop a strong professional network, and for many the overlap between the professional and the personal network is highly desirable and natural. However, as long as this overlap is problematic for some segments of the population, as it can be for minorities

and women, it is encumbent upon a field to do some careful self-examination. Many of the instances that constitute exclusion or neglect of women are inadvertent, as when they result from the otherwise harmless tendency for men and women to hang out in same-sex groups. Others are less innocent, as when sexual harassment obliges a woman to withdraw from a professional activity. But the problem is not only to eliminate women's barriers to network development, but to deal with the reliance on personal networks for the transaction of professional business. The woman whose need to attend to other commitments limits her desire or ability to combine her personal and professional networks, should not find herself professionally disqualified.

The problems discussed here are not created by men for women. They arise in the normal course of social and professional life, and can only be dealt with in the same context. Each of us, male and female, needs to examine how our own daily interaction and participation in apparently innocent situations and incidents exclude others from opportunities, however small.

References

Boissevain, J. (1974) Friends of Friends: Networks, Manipulators and Coalitions. Oxford: Blackwell.

Brown, David G. (1965). Academic Labor Markets. Washington DC: U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Manpower, Automation and Training.

Brown, David G. (1967). The Mobile Professors. Washington DC: American Council on Education.

Granovetter, Mark S. (1974). Getting a Job. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Schafer, Robin (1989). Man, Woman and Nature 1989? Desert Ruins.

Sexual Harassment and the University Community

Molly Hite
Cornell University

Of the stories about sexual harassment that we tell in public, this one will lack a number of specific details: I will not name people, programs, departments, or the university where the incident took place. As always, this anonymity is necessary for legal reasons. I've discovered lately, however, that this anonymity also promotes certain unanticipated effects that have their own educational value. For instance, I was telling this story a couple of months ago during a committee meeting when one man stopped me to exclaim, "You've got it all wrong. I know this guy and it was a put-up job!" To a certain extent, the interruption substantiated my point, that at present any incident of sexual harassment inevitably exists in the form of several widely different and disparate versions. But this man ended up making a somewhat more problematic point, one to which I'll call your attention by way of a caveat. It turned out – although this fact did not emerge until quite a bit later – that the case he had in mind and the case I was describing were not the same case. There were so many similarities that he felt justified in mapping the incident he had heard about onto the incident I had heard about. That such mapping is possible seems in retrospect one of the most interesting things to have come out of the acrimonious discussion that ensued: the more information we collect about sexual harassment, the more we see that individual experiences tend to fall into certain patterns. But I will caution you to be careful about assuming we are thinking about the same people, departments, and universities, and will add, if only to preempt a jump to the most obvious conclusion, that nothing I am describing has anything to do with my own school, Cornell University.

The story, then. Several years ago, a specialized graduate degree-granting program within a very large academic department decided to put itself on the map by conducting a nation-wide search for an eminent director. The search committee succeeded in locating a very famous specialist in this particular field and in luring him to their university with the usual promises and perquisites. As director, this man immediately began to attract highly qualified graduate students into the program – and to conduct affairs with certain of the most qualified female graduate students, whom he also succeeded in getting prestigious grants and fellowships and eventually jobs. This situation continued for several years without any public outcry. One interesting side-effect was that all three of the women faculty members involved in this program left the university for other positions. None of them made a formal complaint, but all three informed the chair and certain other faculty members outside the program that they could not take part in a program that had in effect institutionalized coercive sexual behavior. The department subsequently was unable to attract other female faculty into the program, despite the prestige that the program was enjoying nationally.

The event that precipitated a crisis, not only in the program and in the department but in the university as a whole, involved a new graduate student, a young woman who was undergoing extensive psychological counseling because of a history of parental rape. She had gone to the director of her program to tell him about her emotional instability, as she was afraid of behaving inappropriately in certain classroom situations. The director invited her out to dinner, elicited the whole story, took her to his house, and had sexual relations with her. When questioned, he maintained that he had used no physical coercion. The young woman went the following day to two faculty members outside the program and then committed herself to a mental institution. As far as I know, she is still there.

The faculty members who had spoken with the young woman brought the matter to the attention of the university ombudsman, and one consequence was that the director of the program was offered the choice of resigning or having charges brought against him. He resigned, and was offered a very good position at another institution almost immediately.

There is a lot more I could say about this incident, but my main concern here is to examine some of the things that people **did** say, during and after the whole messy business, because the variety of responses indicates something important about the nature and status of sexual harassment as an issue preoccupying the university community.

(1) Another female graduate student, who had left the program several years before this incident, said that she had gone to the chair of the department to complain about the director's affairs. She said the chair had intimated that she was jealous because the director had in fact dropped her for a new, younger graduate student.

(2) The chair admitted that he believed this student was merely jealous, but maintained that he came to this conclusion only after he had consulted several of the (male) faculty in the program. He also denied that he knew the director had ever been accused of coercive sexual behavior, although of course he was aware that the director had affairs with graduate students in the program. He was personally uncomfortable with the afffairs but felt he could not intervene in any faculty member's personal life.

(3) All the female faculty in the department said they knew about the director's coercive behavior, often counseled female graduate students in the program on ways to handle sexual advances, and assumed that the chair condoned the whole system. All knew exactly why

their female colleagues within the program had left and several said they had written to women being considered for faculty positions within the program, explaining the situation and advising them not to take the job being offered. All the women in the department felt the university was irresponsible in offering the director the chance to resign without being brought up on charges. A number of the male faculty who were in the department but not in the program agreed with their female colleagues on all these points, but more of them were inclined to support their male colleagues within the program.

(4) All the male faculty in the program said they knew about the affairs but that affairs alone did not constitute sexual coercion. They pointed out that the director's behavior was "normal" and "usual" for men in his position, and that it could not be construed as either uncollegial or anstisocial because the director was a bachelor. Several maintained that he had stepped out of line in "seducing" the student who had a history of parental rape; one termed this action "insensitive." Two of these men, however, maintained that the director could not be held responsible for the mental state of any individual student, and one of them generalized the principle, "Any woman who can't handle that sort of pressure has no business in this program."

(5) The three women who left the program have all voiced suspicions that they have failed to win grants or fellowships because the former director continues to be so powerful in his field, and especially because he sits on the boards of a number of the foundations that are most prominently involved in funding research in this field.

(6) A number of faculty in this field who are outside the institution where the incident took place have assured me that the director was "screwed" by the institution. Most of these faculty are male, but a few are female. I would venture to say that this opinion – that the director

was "screwed" – is the dominant one within the field nationally.

I have tried to list these various allegations without weighting them unduly and hope that as a consequence you will be able to see how – in another sort of gathering, from another sort of speaker – they might be adduced as evidence that the question of sexual harassment is full of paranoia and "gray areas," hopelessly relativistic, perhaps even so subjective that the phrase "sexual harassment" cannot be given any sort of institutional credence. That is, the diversity of stories is often used as damning evidence that **there is no such thing** as sexual harassment. I need to note, if only in passing, that this same judgment – there is no such thing as sexual harassment – is in fact **presupposed** by certain of the statements that I have set out, and that other of these statements implicitly define "sexual harassment" so narrowly that the term can have no practical application.

As I think a lot of people observed when I was telling the story, the distinction between "having affairs" and "sexual coercion" – a distinction made by the chair and by all the men in the program – alread assumes that an "affair" between someone in power and someone over whom he has power is **not** by definition sexual coercion. Notice that none of the faculty women involved in this case made that distinction. On the contrary, all regarded sexual contact between a superior and a subordinate as to some degree **not** a consenting relationship, and I should add that they maintained this position even in regard to situations where the subordinate believed she had fully consented. Even more revealing is the generalization proposed by one of the men in the program: "Any woman who can't handle that sort of pressure has no business in this program." The edict presumes that "handling" what he euphemistically terms "that sort of pressure" is **part** of the "business" of "this program"; that a young woman is

to be evaluated as much on her adroitness in deflecting sexual advances – if, indeed, deflection is even an option – as on her research and class performance. The criterion is overtly discriminatory and in addition it reduces the program to the status of a sort of boot camp dedicated to winnowing out women not tough enough to carry on despite sexual depredations.

But the point that seems to me most significant about such discussions is precisely the way the versions that emerge tend to stratify that entity we call the university community – first and most obviously along the lines of gender, and only second along the lines of institutional status. That is, professors as a group were severely divided, with women on one side and most of the men on the other. It is worth noting that the graduate students in the program divided along similar lines, with all the female students opposing the director of the program and most of the male students insisting on the "gray areas" of the case. Because of time limitations I didn't deal at all with two larger institutional categories of people who were also involved with the incident and made statements about it – on one hand, the undergraduate and graduate students across the university, on the other hand, the administrators. All belong properly to the university community as we like to think of it. But in this case, as in most I knew about, the greatest divergence in stories – and so, implicitly, in evaluations of the incident – was between men and women. Not only did male and female faculty have very different versions of what was going on, but there was very little talking between male and female faculty during the long period in which the director was, in more than one sense, carrying on. And this breakdown in communications – or more accurately, this maintenance of separate grapevines – seems to me one of the most disturbing aspects of sexual harassment for university life as a whole.

When I talk to a female colleague, either at my school or at another institution, and the subject of sexual harassment comes up, she is likely to say, "Listen, I had a student once –" And then will come the story, a familiar story with varying punch lines: "and she ended up in an institution," "and then she killed herself," "and she never wrote that book/finished that dissertation/graduated . . . ." Or, less frequently, she will tell me about what happened to her, or to another colleague. These personal stories are less frequent because scarier. For female faculty, sexual harassment is an issue that already impinges on our own professional lives, and the more the victim is someone who could be you, the easier it is to be scared.

But when I bring up the subject around male colleagues, either at my school or at another institution, the reaction is more mixed. "I'm so glad you're doing something about that problem," they might say, or even "Listen, I had a student once–" But I'm not terribly surprised if they say, "Look, that's a very gray area, you know," or "I get harassed by female students all the time, but I don't suppose you'd count that," or even "Look what's one flaky girl's dissertation compared to a great scholar's whole career?" After all, that reaction is perfectly consonant with the observation that I just made, that the more the victim is someone who could be you, the easier it is to be scared. By the same reasoning, it's possible to be cosmically un-scared, even to find the whole situation trivial to the point of absurdity, if you can't imagine ever being the victim.

There are instances of women harassing men, of course – at least one, because we're always hearing about it. And there are instances of homosexual harassment too, sometimes involving two men and less often involving two women. But those events are still relatively rare, and they don't seem to affect the overwhelming apprehension that sexual harassment is something that men do to women. And this apprehension has a lot to do

with why the stories are so different: if you can't imagine being a victim and can imagine being the accused, you tend to put your sympathies behind the plight of the accused, not the victim. For this reason, I don't think the difference among the stories constitutes an argument for abandoning the project of making a coherent institutional policy about sexual harassment. In fact, I think differences can only arise where a coherent institutional policy does not exist.

Sexual harassment is still a *sub rosa* topic in a lot of contexts, maybe even in a lot of universities. It's something we like to think we can handle under the table, without making a fuss, without slinging a lot of mud, without airing our dirty laundry in public. Maybe without handling it at all, in fact: after all, what's one flaky girl's dissertation compared to an eminent scholar's career? There are times when I've thought that, although I'm ashamed to tell you about it. I'm a professor, after all, a colleague. And like professors everywhere, I'm sold on the idea of collegiality.

But in my saner moments I recognize that precisely because there are more and more professors who look like me these days – and more and more administrators and more and more graduate students and more and more serious undergraduates – we can't continue with a notion of collegiality that amounts to men talking to each other. At this point in the history of the sexual harassment issue, men are still talking to each other . . . and women are talking to each other, and there is a difference in what they're saying because women are intimate with the point of view of the victim. The real tragedy to collegiality as an ideal is that we're not all talking together, because a lot of men find "sexual harassment" a difficult concept to grasp, for a variety of reasons. But this need not be an insuperable obstacle.

Imagine for a moment being a professor who catches a student looking at another student's examination. The

student turns to you and says, "Well yes, I was looking at his exam, but I don't call that cheating." What do you do?

I've never known a professor who at that point entered into a spirited debate with the student over the intricacies of the definition of "cheating" or the possible "gray areas" lurking between one person's definition and another's. After all, it doesn't matter what the student calls his or her behavior; what matters is what the professor, and behind the professor the institution, calls this behavior. By the same token, the statement "I don't call what I was doing sexual harassment" has meaning only if the alleged harasser is acknowledged to be the sole arbiter of the meaning of his act. Once we have seen the evident impropriety in allowing the misdeed to be defined entirely by the accused, we can go on to acknowledge the victim's role in describing the behavior that she finds hampering . . . or intolerable. That is, we can articulate definitions of and policies on sexual harassment and see to it that everybody knows about them. At that point, and only at that point, will we all be talking about the same thing. And then, of course, we can begin the complicated and rewarding process of talking to each other.

Two Cultures of Communication

Louanna Furbee
University of Missouri-Columbia

Introduction

At a recent colloquium, I heard an eminent archaeologist speak on the social structure of Neanderthals.[1] He described a pair of sites, one a rock shelter, the other located in the open a bit in front of the rock shelter. The two had different sorts of artifacts in them. In the rock shelter were small stone tools – what he called notches, denticulites, and articulates – tools of the sort one might use to dig up something or split something. There were also splinters of animal bones, skulls of animals, and the ends of long bones which had been cracked for extracting marrow – and there were quite a few baby Neanderthal milk teeth. He also found pollen from tuberous plants in the shelter.

Now, in the site in front of the rock shelter, there were big stone tools – choppers and scrapers, and entire long bones of pigs, roe deer, bovines, and horses – the same animals as found in the shelter site, but big pieces of them, not just the bits of ends, the skulls, and the splinters that were in the first site. There were not many Neanderthal milk teeth either in this second site. The two sites had different patterns of distribution of their somewhat different inventories of artifacts.

The archaeologist's interpretation of these findings was that there had been two groups of people with different lifeways, one per site. Now, that was not my interpretation, and that is why I mention his lecture here.

It seemed possible to me that what the two sites represented was really two parts of one site, and the group occupying them was one group. It looked like a

typical hunter-gatherer pattern to me: As I saw it, the women were there in the rock shelter with the kids – hence the milk teeth – processing tuberous plants and supplementing their vegetable diet with the leftovers from the men's site out front. There, it looked to me like the men brought rough-butchered haunches and other big hunks of meat home from the hunt and just sort of hung out in front of the rock shelter, probably waiting for access to the women. My view was that the archaeologist had really good evidence for what might be called two cultures, one for men and one for women.

Now, the chances are I overlooked something in this archaeological setting, and certainly I misinterpreted some things. But still, the experience seemed to me to give two excellent kinds of evidence for what I have come to think of as two cultures in this academic life – not the science versus the humanities of C.P. Snow (1969), but the culture of men and the culture of women. Fisher (1987) has gone so far as to claim, only partly in jest, that we are really two coevolving species – we women and we men. I would only claim that we participate in two cultures; certainly there appears to me to be a male culture of communication and a female culture of communication.

Now for the two kinds of evidence from that lecture: First, the lecture provided archaeological evidence for a long evolutionary history behind these two cultures. The findings tell me that women and men have been doing different things, and not always spending much time in one another's company, for much of the species' history. No wonder men and women may hold different values, have different attitudes about group loyalties and activities, and use different communication styles. No wonder it can be so difficult for us to understand one another's motives and concerns. No wonder we so easily misread each other.

And speaking of misreading one another, it appears to me that too often men and women arrive at different conclusions when drawing on the same information, especially when they are drawing on the same social information, but also when they are considering the same data – particularly when those data represent information about society. Now, the lecture clearly represents an instance of just that kind of different interpretation of the same data. How could it be that he – the archaeologist – had not at least mentioned what seemed to me the obvious interpretation for those data – namely that we had men out there and women up here going about their separate life activities and mostly keeping separate company. Well, perhaps there are good archaeological reasons for not doing so, although when I discussed my interpretation with archaeological colleagues later, they admitted that some other archaeologists – some male, some female – had also given the Neanderthal data something resembling my interpretation. It is fair to say that the lecturer's thought is constrained by the set of intellectual problems in archaeology with which he has concerned himself over his career. But can we leave aside the possibility that his is an interpretation predominantly from male culture and mine from female? I think not.

This is not a paper on archaeology and the sexes, and I do not wish to belabor my example, but I offer it because I think it is more typical than atypical of gender-related differences in interpretation. All of us – men and women – have what I call war stories. Horribly unfair outcomes of conflicts in our departments and in our wider professional associations in which gender has in some way been an issue, or the issue. As often as not, the men will deny that gender played much of a part. The women almost always insist that sex-discrimination formed the basis of the difficulty when a woman appears to have been unfairly treated, no matter what the difficulty is – professional conflict, denial of tenure[2], competition for students, failure to gain appointment to an editorial

board or to receive an award. As affirmative action programs struggle – largely unsuccessfully – to redress imbalances for women and minorities – white men for their part complain more often that their own failures, usually to gain a job, result from the appointments of less qualified minorities and women in their stead.[3] The tension mounts.

A Mentoring Program

One response to this tension on my campus was a mentoring program for junior female faculty in the College of Arts and Science created by the Committee on the Status of Women of that College. Of course, women can be mentored by men, and many of us have been, but always there is the potential for sexual involvement in such a relationship, and even when the associations are innocent, our senior colleagues may think that such involvement exists, which is an opinion that no junior woman needs thought about her. And besides, only academic women have had the experience of living as academic women. We wanted a way for women to mentor other women.

At the time of the inception of the program, departments varied from having no women in them (Chemistry) to having women represent more than a third of their faculty members (Romance Languages). Most departments had about one-sixth women. Quite a few were like my department, Anthropology, which had one woman out of 16 regular tenure-track faculty (we had once had three). In departments with several women – let us say one-sixth of a large department such as Psychology or English – most of the women were recently hired assistant professors – just the group we wished to help, persons who were one-to-three years into their appointments and not due to be reviewed for tenure until their fifth year. Such women had few senior women in their own departments to help them – perhaps two or three. In departments with even fewer women, there

were of course even fewer senior ones. The few women who were full professors and senior associate professors were not necessarily the best mentors for the junior women of their own departments either. There was no assurance that they would even be compatible with them, and since there were so few seniors, the junior faculty had little selection from which to choose.

Frequently, the senior women had succeeded just exactly because they were able to prosper without a mentor, and so they were not necessarily sympathetic to those who desired such help, or if sympathetic, they had little experience on which to base their actions. Junior men, on the other hand, almost all had mentors, and of course, they had many persons from whom to choose. Senior men seemed to relish having a young man as a mentee whom they treated as an intellectual, social, and often political tutee and as a potential ally; it was part of their power. On the other hand, the senior women sometimes resented junior women faculty members, saw them as competition for the positions they themselves held in the department, and found it difficult to be personally involved in helping their junior colleagues' careers even when they were truly sympathetic to the idea of helping younger women. Furthermore, those senior women were going to have to vote on the tenure of the juniors of their departments, and one of the things women appear to do at my institution, that is different from the behavior of the men there, is try to make such decisions in a detached and unemotional manner. Many endeavor to keep distance between themselves and anyone – male or female – on whom acceptance is still conditional. The dilemma facing junior faculty women is precisely this: It is risky to be mentored by a man, and senior women are both a scarce commodity and too often insufficiently well socialized themselves to their departments to be effective mentors. On the other hand, the Committee members noticed that a senior woman would sometimes informally give time and counsel to a junior woman from another department recommended to her by a colleague

from elsewhere in the College or University. It seemed that the mentoring that women were doing was being conducted across departments rather than within departments. Our mentoring program took advantage of that tendency.

We obtained a list of all women faculty in the College; that list also gave their ranks, their years on campus, and in the case of the assistant professors, their years toward tenure. We selected the most senior women from each department. In some instances, that meant full professors, but since there were only ten female full professors in the College at that time, in many more instances it meant associate professors who had been on campus eight or more years. We asked a senior representative from each department to write out what, in her estimation, constituted a strong case for award of tenure and promotion to associate professor in her department. In a few instances, departments had adopted explicit statements; more often, the individual used her own best judgment to create one. As you can imagine, these varied vastly in a College that has a Music Department and a Department of Fine Arts, as well as a Geography Department, several kinds of departments in the Division of Biological Sciences, a Department of Mathematics, one of Romance Languages, one of Art History and Archaeology, and so on. Some departments prefer a book in addition to articles; all like single-authored articles in refereed journals, although the multiply authored article is the norm for the sciences. Some require success in competitions for outside funding, and some do not. And so on. Teaching and service requirements were less varied.

In the end, we got an explicit description from each department. Copies of those we sent in strict confidence to every senior woman who agreed to serve as a mentor so each would have some idea of what the written and unwritten requirements were across the College for that

most important tenure decision. That way, she could advise a junior woman of whatever discipline, although we suggested that the junior women try to find someone whose intellectual area was fairly close to their own. We trusted that for deportment and comportment considerations, successful senior women would have ample experience on which to base their counsel, and be able to convey the message effectively. All of them had found some way to fit in. They could at least talk about their way, and probably they could mention other models. My own advice, for example, is not surprisingly anthropological: I advise women to try to assume a collateral kinship relation – to become "one of the family," a cousin or a sister. Men do not get involved with their sisters. Becoming fictive collateral kin involves cultivating relationships with the spouses and children of those men, and of course, not threatening any of those spouses by one's behavior toward colleagues.

Naturally, there are other models, more-or-less acceptable to particular persons. Some women I know have become "one of the boys" – and that's another potential model that shares the advantage of not rocking domestic boats, but it does so by desexing the woman. Other women may assume a nonthreatening demeanor, often circumscribing their sphere of influence, for example to their own externally funded laboratory or to their museum office. These women are marginalized and may have little power within their own institutions, yet they may achieve wide recognition beyond their campuses, especially if their base is a secure one. Two outstanding examples come to mind: Margaret Mead, who was not even made full curator at the American Museum of Natural History until the early 1960s (Howard 1984), and Barbara McClintock, the Nobel Prize-winning geneticist who was, as a matter of fact, denied tenure at my own institution where she did the work for which she is most recognized (Keller 1983). The marginal model, while it may prove satisfactory for an

individual woman, presents us with an abdication of the participation of women in academic life.

By no means all of the senior female faculty agreed to participate in our mentoring program, although only one openly opposed the Committee efforts. Some were too busy; some felt incapable of helping. To all the junior women of the College, we made available a list of the participating senior women who were potential mentors. We then invited all the women of the college to an afternoon reception – a chance to meet one another and discuss the program informally. On the lists we provided were not only the names of the potential mentors, but also their office and home addresses and telephones. They would gladly meet with a junior woman anywhere for confidential discussion. Cups of tea or coffee, and occasional drinks, began to be consumed by pairs of women at watering holes across the campus. Quite a few made a practice of attending the monthly lunch-bag meetings of the Faculty Women's Network, a campus-wide group, where war stories and success stories could be exchanged and where one could expand somewhat one's limited number of female friends and colleagues. The Committee had thought to match junior to senior women, but in the end we just provided the information and situations in which the women could get acquainted informally. Those who needed and wanted a mentor had to take the initiative, and at least some did.[4]

Case History

I want to give you an example from those encounters – somewhat altered to maintain anonymity, of course – that will describe for you I hope some of the cultural differences between men and women on my campus. Then I will outline briefly two kinds of research that might help us understand these differences between us better, describe some strategies for achieving change, and point to what I think may be an emerging third, gender-neutral culture of communication.

One of the women that I advised provides a fairly typical example of a talented assistant professor whose success might be in jeopardy purely because she and her colleagues were missing one another's communicative social cues.

I first talked with her at a Faculty Women's Network gathering before the College's mentoring program was established. She told me that she and her mentor – the man who chaired her department – were the only productive members of a small faculty of eight persons, and they were engaged in a number of joint research projects and publishing activities. She said the other faculty – all in mid or late career and all male – were resentful of her, and she didn't understand why since she was doing just exactly what she was supposed to do – teach well, publish widely, and make a name for herself and her university. Because she and her husband had no children, and because her husband lived 80 miles away where he had a business, she kept a small apartment in town and returned home only on weekends. With no home responsibilities, she gave 100% of her weekdays – and some weekends – to school. In our first discussion, I suggested that her colleagues might interpret her aggressiveness as belittling of them, and that they might also think that she was having an affair with her mentor-chair who was clearly favoring her. Ridiculous, she said, he is 60 years old. Not impossible, I replied, and we passed on to other things.

A year later, she called me. It was as I had suggested. Her colleagues did think she'd been involved with her mentor, who had recently been divorced. The department blamed her. Her mentor had been replaced as chair, and she was coming up for tenure next year with a person she thought was hostile to her heading the department. Anything she could do? I advised her to put a bit of distance between herself and the mentor and spend some time with some of the other department

members. To do so would not be interpreted as disloyalty to the former chair, I assured here, just as loyalty to the department as a whole. I referred her to a senior woman in a closely related department who knew the individuals involved and understood the profession and the politics of the campus. As for tenure, I advised her to make an appointment the semester before the review was due to begin to talk about the process with her new chair. She should find out how her tenure materials were to be prepared, and offer to do some of the preparation herself (e.g., making Xerox copies of her publications for sending to referees). If the new chair wanted her to do so, she could write statements about aspects of her career, goals, and work that he could use as source materials when he wrote up her case for the College, but if he seemed to think that was interfering with the decision of the senior faculty, she should quickly back off. Mainly, she just needed to see that the case was carefully prepared. As long as the department followed the letter of the law, she could not be denied.

I do not know what exactly she did or did not do out of my laundry list, but she was promoted and tenured. Perhaps she underestimated her colleagues, or perhaps they acted with more fairness and grace than she anticipated. Because we women are often out of the men's communication loops, we sometimes draw semi-paranoid conclusions in the wake of simple acts or remarks. That is minority behavior, and such misinterpretations make us appear prickly. When I talked to two male colleagues who were the only men in otherwise all female departments, they told me they too had such difficulties and sometimes felt persecuted, misinterpreted and ignored. A lot of our problems probably result not from our being women so much as from our being a minority.

Lessons, Heuristics and Directions for Research

The lesson here is that my junior colleague, perhaps because of her contempt for the less productive members

of her department – who just happened to be men – had established little in the way of collegial relationships with them. I think that is typical. Sometimes we women are motivated not just by intellectual contempt but "social" contempt as well. We disdain what they do socially, and we cannot cooperate easily with them in any circumstance because of it. Or, we are afraid. They are so scary or different, we just give them wide berth. We are unable to find an area of communication that is comfortable. I propose that this reaction is the well-publicized "teamwork problem" women have. I hate popularized notions that make the victim the perpetrator of her problem, but this observation about women being unable to cooperate with those they do not trust does seem correct to me. I find it helps to think of my fellow department members as family – brothers and cousins. After all, you may not like everything a brother does, but you keep the relationship open nonetheless because he'll always be your brother – you cannot sever that association. And sometimes one can find a point of trust or common interest.

It may come as no surprise to learn that some men find women scary too. They are probably at least as perplexed by us as we are by them. This situation can especially obtain when linguists are among non-linguists because the "conference room" style of linguists (and philosophers, at least) is rather more adversarial than that of some of our other colleagues. Even given the reputation of linguists for sharp attacks, however, I think we women are in general more direct than men in our criticism. As a result, we may seem to threaten and to violate trust and group loyalty.

Let me give you an example. In criticizing a paper – verbally or in writing – the women of my acquaintance do not necessarily think it required to re-cast comments such as "This is too wordy" in diplomatic prose. And we are more likely to criticize in the public forum. Men are kinder in public. They find confidential private

discussion of conflict acceptable; they are doing a colleague a favor in that case, protecting his or her exterior reputation, keeping the disagreement in the family, while presenting a united face to the outside world. They do not customarily destroy a colleague in front of the graduate students, for example, or if they do – it represents an almost unmendable breach. It is an act that makes a serious social statement that is going to have long-term consequences. We women sometimes do that sort of thing rather casually, however, and then we go out for coffee together. It does not violate our trust.

Notice that young members of our and other professions frequently signal their brightness and potential by just that kind of aggressive, sharp criticism in the public forum. Young women and men call attention to themselves and their ideas that way, and that behavior functions to make their names and ideas known. In so doing, they nudge themselves into the profession. Such behavior is appropriate for the young, and you need only attend a national or regional conference to witness a lot of it. The assumption is that these young folks are aggressive, ambitious, and – most especially – smart. But, over the course of their careers, men mellow. As they become established, and loyal to their departments – to what a physical anthropologist colleague of mine calls their primate troop, they attack colleagues – especially in-house colleagues – less directly; all this happens just about the time they begin to mentor the junior males of their departments. Women, on the other hand, may maintain their aggressive behavior to show strength and activity beyond the "getting established" stages to appear to be forceful. They are seen as aggressive and ambitious certainly, but also as overbearing and as demanding of too much attention. After all, they have made it; they ought to quit waving flags and make way for the younger folks to compete in that arena for establishing their names. Clearly, some men persist with the flag waving too, but it is not appropriate for them either. It is maverick behavior.

Worse yet, I think women are doubly caught. If they become too diplomatic and mellow, they risk falling into the shadows again – at least in their own estimation – just because we do not have a recognized senior model of behavior to adopt. Now, there is this – once a woman becomes really senior, her aggression is considered nothing more than crusty eccentricity.

What to do? Being academics, we expect research to lead to answers. Here are my suggestions. In research on communication differences, I believe we have made an important positive shift in our turn away from examination of "characteristics" of male speech or female speech free from their relationship to one another and to context (McConnell-Ginet 1983, 1987; Frank and Anshen 1983; Tannen 1986; Treichler and Kramarae 1983). Work involving lists free of situation fell victim to the same problem studies of Black English did 20 years ago. All through the 60s and early 70s, the controversy raged as to whether there was such a thing as a creole-based Black English Vernacular or not. Every characteristic that someone proposed as diagnostic of BVE would be countered by someone turning it up in the speech of white southerners (Labov 1982). No single characteristic is likely to be diagnostic, and scholars examining the language of women and men were correct in promptly realizing that the configurations of features were likely to be more diagnostic of male and female speech styles than would be the inventory itself. And – all important – the situations in which they are employed and the strategies of their use vary. The assumptions about what the style and strategy themselves are communicating merit closer examination. I applaud work in discourse and communicative competence that treats these issues and urge more of it.[5]

Second, the academy needs a major study of the communication styles of different age groups of professional men and women – a semi-longitudinal study

– to determine what the communicative styles are at different stages of careers. Do, as I have asserted here, men mellow communicatively more than women do, and if so, in what ways. What are the communicative styles characteristic of mid career women? Of later career women? Are many of us stuck in a groove of youthful verbal virtuosity, calling attention to ourselves up to the grave? Or, am I promulgating another kind of myth? Is there developing among some of our younger colleagues a communicative style that is less sex-linked, a more gender-neutral culture of communication, or is the widespread use of gender-neutral forms in print – his and her, s/he, chair, spokesperson, one, even – oh horrors! – chairone – misleading us into thinking something good is happening out there. Finally, what effect do regional differences make on the situation? It may be that some of what seems to be differences in communicative style resulting from either gender or generational considerations is actually a product of regional variation.

Conclusions

I am as resentful as the next person of having behavior that is seen as ambitious or forceful in a man be interpreted as pushy and castrating in me. Why, just because I am a minority, must I change? We really ought to forge a Brave New Linguistic World. But, while we await accomplishment of that goal, careers can die. Who then will constitute the critical mass that can forge this New World?

It is important that we recognize that this is a guerrilla war and a long-term one at that. A few in power can effectively maintain a status quo against a majority. We saw the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment fail even though a majority of Americans favored it. Recently, we have the example of the 1989 Supreme Court decision in Webster vs. Reproductive Health Services (of St. Louis), which imposed restrictions on

abortion rights in spite of public opinion to the contrary. If the will of the majority can be thwarted by the few, it ought not take enormous numbers of actors to bring about changes that have general support among the populace.

Improving the opportunities for women and minorities by leveling the playing field is not a controversial suggestion in academia or elsewhere in the workplace. It is one with general support, and sympathetic infiltration is one way to achieve the goal. A few well-placed women can have a powerful positive effect on the intellectual and social climate in our institutions, improvement that fosters learning by both male and female students.

To achieve this better academic world, we must, however, separate the issue of aiding individual women in their efforts to establish themselves from that of improving the educational setting for all persons by fostering gender equality. A mentoring program, such as the one I have described here, speaks to the former issue primarily. It does, however, foster an increase in the number of academic women secure in their positions from which we must first recruit those new instigators of change and then support their efforts, even when that support may make life difficult for us as individuals.

This last is work for the secure among us. We need to protect the untenured, but demand action from them once they are secure. There is plenty of time after tenure to express oneself forcefully when all that is at risk is this year's raise. Indeed that is an obligation that today's assistant professors should be prepared to exercise once they have been promoted and tenured. More than that, in the security of a full professorship, a woman must accept responsibility not just to get along, but to push the institution for change so our academia will become a better place – better for women and consequently, I believe, better for men too. Help from sympathetic male full professors is welcome but frankly not to be

anticipated from most in the absence of a request for it, and we need to ask. Perhaps individually it is possible for us to disarm our critics, so we would not have to scare them off. Perhaps we can learn to give a little without losing our own style and identity. After all, if we were in Mexico, or India, or France, or Indonesia, or as I have been recently, in a Native American community, we would try to alter expectations and behavior and not pre-judge that culture by our own. The least we can do is extend that relativistic courtesy to that other culture in our academic midst – the Men's Culture, even as we strive to help individual women succeed, even as we work to level the playing field for all in the competition for successful careers in academia, and even as we labor to bring significant institutional changes that will influence how our young will be educated.

Notes

[1] Binford, Lewis. Social Structures of Neanderthals and African Early Hominids. Lecture, Anthropology Department Lecture Series, University of Missouri - Columbia, March 20, 1989.

[2] Blum, Debra E. 1989. Tenure Rate for Men and Women. The Chronicle of Higher Education, March 29, 1989, p. A19: Female faculty members at the University of Wisconsin at Madison are much less likely to earn tenure than are their male colleagues, according to a study by the affirmative-action office there. The study, which looked at 264 assistant professors hired from 1977 to 1980, found that 54.5 per cent of the women and 72.5 per cent of the men had gained tenure. Women account for 16 per cent of the 2,368-member faculty at the university, and 11 per cent of its tenured faculty members. Bonnie P. Ortiz, acting director of the university's affirmative-action office, said the study revealed that female faculty members found their positions much more stressful than male faculty members did.

[3] The 1989 Supreme Court reported out a series of decisions (e.g., the Birmingham firefighters case) that many see as nearly crippling of affirmative action programs. It remains to be seen the effects of these rulings and what, if any, legislation they might prompt.

[4] I should note here that the mentoring program has been difficult to maintain from year to year, not because of lack of interest but because of the mechanical problem of up-dating lists of potential mentors and mentees, revising descriptions of tenure and promotion expectations for the various departments, and disseminating such information in the absence of a staff to aid the members of the Committee on the Status of Women of the College of Arts & Science with such chores.

[5] See the edited works by McConnell-Ginet, Borker, and Furman (1980) and by Philips, Steele, and Tanz (1987) for introduction to the variety of such studies.

References

Fisher, Helen. 1987. The sex contract. The evolution of human behavior. New York: Morrow.

Frank, Francine, and Frank Anshen. 1984. Language and the sexes. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Howard, Jane. 1984. Margaret Mead. A life. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Keller, Evelyn Fox. 1983. A feeling for the organism. The life and work of Barbara McClintock. New York: W.H. Freeman.

Labov, William. 1982. Objectivity and commitment in linguistic science. The case of the Black English trial in Ann Arbor. Language in Society. 11.165-201.

McConnell-Ginet, Sally. 1983. Review article. Language. 59.373-91.

_____. 1987. Language and gender. Cambridge survey of linguistics, vol. 4, ed. by Frederick J. Newmeyer, 75-99. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

_____, Ruth Borker, and Nelly Furman (eds.). 1980. Women and language in literature and society. New York: Praeger.

Philips, Susan U.; Susan Steele, and Christine Tanz (eds.). 1987. Language, gender and sex in comparative perspective. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Snow, C.P. 1969. Two cultures. And a second look. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tannen, Deborah. 1986. That's not what I meant! How conversational style makes or breaks your relations with others. New York: Morrow.

Treichler, Paula A, and C. Kramarae. 1983. Women's talk in the ivory tower. Communication Quarterly 31.118-32.

Part 4

Finding and Giving Support

Gender Values and Success in Academia

Craige Roberts
The Ohio State University

A woman colleague in a prominent linguistics department tells the following story: She was talking with someone about the Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics of the LSA. A male colleague overheard them and asked, "Why do you need a committee on women in linguistics? What's the problem?" Implicit in his question was the now common assumption that we women have surely gotten what we said we wanted. Here she was, living proof of women's new access to positions of authority, a junior faculty member in a linguistics department committed to equal opportunity. What is the matter, after all?

The answer was evident in the thinly veiled confrontational tone of the question itself. This man, who might well support a woman if she ever encountered overt sex discrimination or harrassment, was irritated, as well as puzzled, by our continued insistence that there is a women's problem in academia, and in the field of linguistics in particular.

Such incidents are admittedly minor in themselves, but as we can see in the surveys of the status of women in our field included in this volume, there is considerable statistical and anecdoctal evidence of sex discrimination in academia and in linguistics. If the incidence of blatant discrimination is down, to what can we attribute the problems reflected in these reports?

I believe that for women who are not faced with overt discrimination because of their gender, the greatest barrier to success in academia is what some have called "subtle discrimination",[1] a barrier which is first manifest in graduate school and remains a challenge to many women faculty. As the name suggests, subtle

discrimination is often hard to detect, and even harder to understand and to explain. And it is very pernicious, partly because it often proceeds without conscious detection, even while it damages the self-confidence and security of the women involved.

Subtle discrimination often manifests as an absence, which takes on significance in contrast to normative relations among students and teachers, and between colleagues in the field. Here are some examples which have been discussed in the literature on women in education:

- lack of interest in women students or colleagues and lack of support for their work. Hall and Sandler, in their report on women in the classroom prepared for the Association of American Colleges, note that professors have been observed to adopt a "patronizing, impatient tone when talking with women, but a tone of interest and attention when talking with men". This symptom of subtle discrimination is often related to the next:
- lower expectations for women students than for men
- failure to leave room for participation by less aggressive students or colleagues
- lack of eye contact with women in classes and seminars
- lack of informal social contact, of the sort crucial to building a collegial relationship: raquetball doubles, lunch, informal discussions in the office.

These types of exclusionary behavior, and others related to them, often blend into slightly more overt behavior, such as sexist jokes, minor taunts, hostility to the recognition and discussion of women's issues, and even the defiance of women as authorities (e.g. by male students).

My own understanding of these problems is still emerging, but an interesting body of contemporary feminist literature[2] might be taken to support the following view:

The roots of subtle discrimination lie in socially defined gender roles and, especially, in the values which crucially inform and enforce those roles. The recent work of Carol Gilligan, in her book *In a Different Voice*, and of Belenky et al in *Women's Ways of Knowing: the development of self, voice, and mind*, explore in some detail some of these relationships between women's social roles and their values, and between these values and one's strategies for learning. These studies begin to illuminate the real values that underlie gender stereotypes: women as cooperative, eager to please, cautious; nurturing and primarily concerned with responsibilities to others and with group interaction and harmony, etc. And they suggest that rather than eschewing these roles and the associated values, both women and the society in which we live might be best served by elevating them to a more respected position, bringing them into balance with the roles and values more generally associated with men: competitiveness, independence, innovative action, the rights of the individual against society, etc.

But the woman who would enter into the academic community finds herself in a man's world. And she finds that if she would succeed in that community, as in any institution, she must show that she belongs, not only by her scholarly achievements, but by, to some extent: a) exercising the role of an academic, and accepting the values associated with that role, and b) getting the attention of her peers and superiors. But even in the first step, this woman encounters serious problems. And these problems interfere with her receiving the attention necessary for acceptance.

The problems arise from the fact that the role of scholar, even in apprenticehood, is quintessentially a male role. For example, I recently attended a regional meeting of a prominent academic philosophical society, and I was impressed by the nearly uniform visual appearance of the participants: tweed jacket, leather patches, lots of goatees and a few pipes. Of course, there were very few women participants, and they either looked out of place or dressed as much as possible like the men, short of the elbow patches and goatees. This is just the visual reflection of a set of shared values and is an important part of the exercise of a well defined masculine role. And the woman who attempts to exercise this role is out of place: this is not her role.

There is a body of work in psychology, sociology, and anthropology[3] which paints roles and values both as the stuff of which one's self identity is made, and as fundamental to the conventions which underlie the web of social intercourse. Changing external social roles, as feminists are well aware, has profound and unsettling effects both on the individual who changes and on those with whom she interacts. Among professional women there is an extremely widespread syndrome for which I believe the primary cause may be the fact that these women are often playing roles for which they were not socialized: the horrible feeling that one is an imposter, secretly incompetent, and that one will be found out at any moment. And other people (both men and women) who interact with a woman who has stepped outside her gender related roles are often at a loss for how to treat the renegade: she has made them uncomfortable, she is irritating.

The unreflective man, even one of conscious goodwill, may react to this irritation like an oyster, forming an insulating coating around an irritating foreign particle: that is, he will avoid her and try to continue interacting with the other members of his group in their conventional roles, as if she weren't there.[4] This type of

behavior in teachers and colleagues tends to isolate women in academia. Further, as Jessie Bernard notes in *Academic Women*,

> Role theory states that roles are always reciprocal, that their performance always involves a mutual response: Roles cannot be performed alone, in isolation. No matter how well one person performs his role, if the other person or persons do not respond, the role is not, in effect, being performed at all. The success of any role performance depends, therefore, as much on Alter's performance of the complementary role as it does on Ego's performance of his role.

What this suggests, I think correctly, is that women faced with subtle discrimination cannot entirely succeed as scholars, by virtue of the fact that one can't fill a socially defined role in isolation from the society that defines it. When a woman is thus isolated, is thwarted in the exercise of the role to which she aspires, and even feels herself an imposter, she certainly cannot perform to her full capacity. This, of course, further undermines her confidence, and at worst can lead to the abandonment of graduate studies or faculty positions.

Let me illustrate this discussion from my own experience. When I began graduate school, I knew I was an outsider, alien and uninitiated into the mysteries of academia. But I took this as a reflection of my status as novice and attached no feminist significance to it. But during my second year, I started to talk with other women students about our experience. These were not just the usual graduate student discussions about our individual problems and hopes and fears; we drew on earlier experience with feminist support groups to talk about our situation as women students and about how our individual problems and hopes and fears might be related to that situation. What struck us first was that most of us were sure we were imposters. Second, we

generally felt invisible. While our male graduate colleagues were acting brilliant, making up wild new theories, giving colloquia, and writing their first conference abstracts, most of us were trying hard to be good girls, a very effective strategy in more traditional feminine roles; as Angela Simeone describes it, being "compliant, cooperative, . . . and conscientious" in our attitudes towards professors, and "precise, thorough, and uncontroversial" in our work.[5] Though acting like a good girl may earn one a couple of pats on the head, it doesn't get the kind of attention and respect one wants in academia. And third, we were all isolated intellectually: we found that while the male students congregated in the common rooms and offices and sketched their ideas and puzzles on the blackboard for discussion with each other and with passing faculty, we each worked alone. We did not participate in this camaraderie with the men, nor did we develop it among ourselves, and in general we found it hard to take our own and each other's work as seriously as we took that of the male students.[6]

Another contrast emerged: in discussing the issues with one older woman student, she said to me that of course the men in the department went farther than the women, since it was obvious that apart from one brilliant woman student, we were in general less capable than the men. This prompted some of us to ask the department to ask for an anonymous comparison of the relative strengths of the Graduate Records Examination scores for entering men and women students over several years. Because the department supported our efforts and was generally committed to affirmative action, our request was granted. The result surprised even us: not only were the women's scores not lower than the men's, as the comment I cited would lead one to expect, but in fact the average of the women's scores was consistently higher than that of the men's, despite the fact that the women also had a higher drop-out rate than the men.[7]

For the women in the small support group which spontaneously emerged, our discussions led to the slowly dawning recognition that our personal problems as students were deeply enmeshed with the larger institutional sexism of academia. This important realization didn't alleviate all the problems we were experiencing, but it did begin to break down our isolation, and it helped us to put in perspective the sense of personal failure which some had been experiencing. Perhaps most importantly for me, I began to see that being a good girl wasn't going to work in this situation, and that taking risks intellectually was necessary to success in the academic environment.

This experience leads me to believe that to combat the problems associated with conflicting gender roles and gender values, including subtle discrimination, the most effective strategy that a women graduate student or junior faculty member can adopt is consciousness raising in peer support groups or women's networks, whether among friends or colleagues in her department or by utilizing the campus wide networks and groups often organized by women's studies departments or affirmative action offices.

In the literature I've reviewed on women's status in academia, I find that the value of peer support groups has generally not been sufficiently emphasized. One finds much more emphasis on the importance of finding a mentor. In this regard, I was unusually fortunate, in that my advisor later in graduate school was an intelligent, conscientious woman who took her role as mentor seriously. However, I believe that intrinsic to the mentor/student relationship are limitations on its helpfulness for coping with the kind of problem I'm concerned with here, so that, while important in other respects, the relationship cannot serve as a substitute for consciousness raising among peers.

For example, in the mentor/student relationship, there is an unavoidable power differential, even when the mentor is careful not to pull rank. Among peers, one can more easily throw off the passive dependent role of the good girl which seems to be a common response to subtle discrimination. Also, peers have more time and mutual need to motivate on-going discussion, analysis, and help, while even the most well-meaning mentor may not have the time to attend to the kinds of complex problems at issue. Further, in some cases peer support can lead beyond discussion of women's problems to the discussion of professional, theoretical matters. I think that providing a relatively non-hostile environment in which such discussion can occur is an extremely important function of peer support. Also, to the extent that specific problems and instances of discrimination, blatant or subtle, can be identified, the organized response of a group of women is undoubtedly much more effective than the response of an individual woman by herself, and in addition, the group can provide protection from recrimination for the individual(s) affected.

Finally, one problem which I have with the emphasis on the mentor as role model is that in many cases, through necessity, senior women have succeeded and risen to the status of advisor in part by adopting the traditional values and roles of the academy. Although they are thus well-suited to advise and instruct in these traditional values, I believe that we need to question these values and perhaps influence them to change in some cases. Peer support groups and women's networks, along with conferences such as the one where this paper was presented, can provide a matrix for discussion of values, for weighing various considerations and developing compromises between different socially-defined gender value systems.

I consider this last point extremely important. Let me make the need for such discussions more vivid with an example from one area where gender values seem to

conflict to the special detriment of women, and perhaps ultimately to the academy as a whole: the conflict between teaching responsibilities and research. It is a truism in academia that tenure, promotion, and other tokens of the esteem of the academy are awarded almost entirely on the basis of one's publication record, so that it is imperative to neglect one's teaching if necessary to make time for research. That's a quote from one very knowledgeable source I know: "neglect your teaching". Of course, this is in direct conflict with the stated policy of most universities, which claim to put great emphasis on the quality of their teaching, but I feel sure that the informal, off the record advice I report here is the more reliable guide to success. Contrast this with a discussion I had with my mother a couple of years ago, when I was first teaching a graduate seminar. My mother, who didn't have the opportunity to complete her Ph.D., recently retired as an associate professor in a small teacher's college. I complained that teaching and advising students was taking away too much of my research time, that I couldn't find a comfortable limit on my responsibility to my students. My mother immediately responded that she didn't see how I could turn students away, when they clearly needed help and encouragement. For her, the well-being of her family had come before whatever personal ambitions she may have had, and her role as teacher was an extension of her role as nurturing mother; as with her children, it was her responsibility to give her students whatever she could.

Last fall, in a journal called *The Teaching Professor* I ran into a reprint of an article by Kenneth A. Feldman called "A review of the relationship between success in teaching and in research". Feldman reported a slight, possibly not statistically significant correlation between teaching effectiveness and research productivity. One passage stood out vividly to me:

> One cluster of personality traits was found to relate in opposite ways to research productivity and teaching effectiveness. With some consistency across studies, supportiveness, tolerance, and warmth . . . were associated inversely with research productivity but positively with teaching effectiveness.

Interestingly, Feldman makes no mention of gender in this discussion, nor does he speculate about why this inverse correlation might exist. But these character traits are clearly associated with femininity, and, as my own experience suggests, there is nothing abstract about the correlation between generosity towards one's students and problems with research productivity. If, as Carol Gilligan argues persuasively in *In a Different Voice*, the core of feminine value systems is the notion of responsibility, as opposed to a masculine system based on individual rights and impersonal justice, then my mother's response to my dilemma with my students is typically feminine: my responsibility to others must in general outweigh my personal needs, or any rights I might claim to recognition and success. That is, I must put my teaching before my research. Insofar as Feldman's results are valid, they add further support to the thesis that one's values may doom one to failure in an institution which is predicated on different, conflicting values.

Let me hasten to add two things in this connection: First, I am aware that many men also experience conflicts between teaching and research, though in my opinion, women generally seem to feel it more acutely. By discussing values associated with gender roles, rather than with biological sex, I have tried to implicitly acknowledge the fact that these values are distributed in ways more subtle than mere sex differences would suggest. Second, I am not suggesting that there are simple solutions to the research vs. teaching conflict, that if we give women's values more weight in the

academy, a redress of the balance in prestige between these two different types of academic responsibility will result. The issue is complex. Different members of the academy evince different strengths and interests; those engaged in serious research are sometimes the most stimulating and inspiring teachers; and universities serve their communities and society as a whole through research as well as through instruction.

Rather, I want to suggest that the open discussion of the issues from a feminist perspective might prove fruitful for the field, and especially to those of us for whom the simple admonition to adopt those values reflected in the publish-or-perish reality ignores a conflict with our own gender-related values. It is this type of discussion which I believe is best fostered by support groups and women's networks. And it is for this reason that I consider such groups to have great potential for fostering change in our field, as in others.

Notes

1 See the 1983 report by the female graduate students in the MIT Laboratory for Computer Science and the Artificial Intelligence Laboratory for discussion of this term and of the effects of subtle discrimination on students there.

2 See, for example, the work by Keller, Gilligan, and Belenky et al., cited in the bibliography, as well as the very interesting early study by Janeway, also cited there.

3 See discussion and references in Bernard (especially the discussion of "status inconsistency" in Chapter 12, and the references cited there and in Chapter 13), Janeway, Gilligan, and Belenkey et al.

4 This behavior is not observed only in men, but in some women in positions of authority, as well; see further

discussion below, in the text of the paper. The response is not in general a question of mysogyny. In my own experience, the same men (and women) that are uncomfortable interacting with women colleagues often have warm and friendly relationships with women family members, and with women secretaries, nurses, and others in stereotypically feminine roles.

5 Simeone p.74, citing Bernard. See also Belenky et al for discussion of the Good Girl strategy. Thanks to Alison Huettner for her insightful comments on this problem.

6 Uri Treisman has done some very interesting work at UC Berkeley, comparing the performance of oriental and black students of mathematics there. (These results were discussed in a talk he gave at Smith College in 1988; unfortunately, I am unable to find published references.) His work suggests that one of the central factors pointing to success may be collaboration with other students and informal discussion of issues and problems. He found that for sociological reasons unrelated to their mathematical ability, black students were unlikely to collaborate in this way, while orientals seem find it very natural. Nina Dabek (p.c.) suggests that this work may shed light on the problems women graduate students experience with their work.

7 This pattern has been reported in other, more rigorous comparisons of men and women post-secondary students. See Simeone for references.

Bibliography

Belenky, Mary Field, Blythe McVicker Clinchy, Nancy Rule Goldberger, and Jill Mattuck Tarule. 1986. *Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice, and Mind*. New York: Basic Books.

Bernard, Jessie. 1964. *Academic Women.* University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press. Reprinted 1979, New York: New American Library.

Chamberlain, Miriam K. (ed.). 1988. *Women in Academe: Progress and Prospects.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Female graduate students and research staff in the Laboratory for Computer Science and the Artificial Intelligence Laboratory at MIT. 1983. "Barriers to Equality in Academia: Women in Computer Science at MIT". Laboratory for Computer Science, MIT, 545 Technology Square, Cambridge, MA 02139.

Gilligan, Carol. 1982. *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Hall, Roberta M., and Bernice R. Sandler. 1982. "The Classroom Climate: A Chilly One for Women?" A publication of the Project on the Status and Education of WOMEN of the Association of American Colleges, 1818 R Street NW, Washington, DC 20009. [The Project has a number of other useful publications on this and related issues.]

Janeway, Elizabeth. 1971. *Man's World, Woman's Place: A study in social mythology.* New York: Delta.

Keller, Evelyn Fox. 1985. *Reflections on Gender and Science.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Simeone, Angela. 1987. *Academic Women: Working Towards Equality.* South Hadley, Mass.: Bergin & Garvey.

First Generation Mentors

Margaret Speas
University of Massachusetts

The status of women in the Linguistics profession has improved over the past ten years, according to the data reported by Davison and Disterheft in the volume. However, their study also shows a disproportionately small number of women holding full professorships in Linguistics. This demographic fact has an important consequence, which will be the topic of my paper. It means that although some of us may have been lucky enough to have mentors in graduate school, few of us have had mentors who were women. Thus, while most of us are aware of empirical and anecdotal evidence of the important positive influence that a mentor can have on a student's development, we enter into positions as Assistant Professors with no experience at all of what it would be to be female and to serve as a mentor for a graduate student. We are what might be called 'first generation mentors.'

My goal in this paper is to outline some of the pitfalls that confront the first generation mentor. For the most part, I will be discussing dilemmas that I have faced in my first few years as an Assistant Professor. By relating my own experience and analyzing how it meshes with relevant research, my intention is to uncover some of the issues that should be addressed in any long-term study of the status of women in the Linguistics profession, and to lay a foundation for the next generation.

1. Background

Much of what I have to say about my own recent experience is actually relevant to anyone in their first few years of university teaching. No matter what our gender or the gender of our students, we all find that we

have much to learn in making the sudden transition from student/advisee to professor/advisor. I should clarify, then, how I take my comments to apply to the situation of a female professor trying to provide the best possible environment for female graduate students.

First of all, I take as a given that faculty members have a responsibility to provide to the extent possible for special needs of various types of students, including female students. At the risk of stating the obvious, let me specify what I mean by 'special needs' of female students. There is sometimes a tendency for sympathetic but unenlightened colleagues to interpret requests for sensitivity to special needs of women (or members of other minority groups) as pleas for 'extra help' for a group that 'has trouble keeping up.' In response to this common misconception, I would point out that there is nothing radical about the idea of meeting the various needs of different types of students. All college campuses are replete with programs and facilities designed to meet special needs: financial aid for those who need money, special housing for students with children, tutoring programs for students who need extra academic help, study abroad programs for students who wish to broaden their horizons, fraternities and sororities for students who want to live and work with a small and selected group of people, intramural sports for people who need physical competition, independent study for students who want to chose their own coursework; the list is endless. When I refer to the 'special needs' of female students, I am simply talking about needs which happen to be gender-specific, but which ought to be routinely provided for in any institution which claims to be providing a quality education for all students. Unfortunately, the statistics cited by Price, Davison and Disterheft showing significantly different attrition rates by gender indicate that female students have special needs which are not being met. One way to meet some of these needs is by focussing on our roles as advisors to female students. It is not a straightforward matter to

determine the needs of any particular group, and in the long run this determination is up to the members of the group, not to outsiders with power. The research on the importance of mentoring (see in particular Merriam (1983), Hall and Sandler (1983)) suggests that having the attention of a mentor correlates significantly with success for female students. I suspect that this correlation is due in part to the contribution of this type of relationship to meeting special needs of female students.

Secondly, I would like to emphasize that these special needs exist even in an environment where faculty are sensitive to issues of discrimination, and they exist for women who have never experienced explicit sexism. That is, I would adhere to what Freeman (1979) has termed the 'Null Environment Hypothesis.' This hypothesis arose in response to faculty reaction to a study that Freeman had proposed on the status of women at the University of Chicago. Objections were raised that 'the faculty did not discriminate between women and men students – they treated them all badly.' The Null Environment Hypothesis is an explicit rejection of the notion that treating all students identically amounts to treating them all equally.

(1) **The Null Environment Hypothesis:**

> An academic situation that neither encourages nor discourages students of either sex is inherently discriminating against women because it fails to take into account the differentiating external environments from which women and men students come. (Freeman 1979)

It is not necessary to elaborate here on the various gender-related differences in training, peer support and societal expectations which have been well-documented in the literature. Freeman included in her study questions about the extent to which subjects' career

aspirations received support from parents, friends, siblings and faculty members and, not surprisingly, found a clear difference, with male students' aspirations having received stronger support throughout their lives. I will simply take the Null Environment Hypothesis to be a working assumption, underlying our efforts to construct advising programs which will most effectively meet the special needs of female students.

It is important to emphasize that I am aware that many of the conflicts described in this paper are conflicts which many male academics may also face. As always in discussions of gender, I do not mean to imply that the issues discussed here arise for all and only women. It is also true that many of the issues raised here may be due to power relations in academia, and so could apply to any group which is barred from positions of power, and hence may not ultimately be related to gender in a direct way. These are, however, issues that are intimately related to gender roles as a subset of societal roles in general.

It is probably already clear that in this paper I am using the term 'mentor' rather loosely, to mean roughly the role in which we find ourselves when we take on certain advising responsibilities over and above those involving imparting the basic content of the field to our students. Thus, I will not be elaborating in any detail on specific programs for matching students with mentors. Rather, I will be dealing in a more informal way with issues that arise when we commit ourselves to working with individual female students in order to make sure they get the best possible education.

Simeone (1987) has suggested that the functions of a mentor include the following:

(2) **Functions of a Mentor:** (Simeone (1987))

- introduce and initiate protege in customs, demands and expectations of academic life.
- share wisdom and knowledge, and provide encouragement and comments on work.
- provide career assistance.
- foster a positive professional self-image.

Each of these are worthy goals for a prospective mentor. For the first generation mentor, each of these seemingly straightforward functions presents special and sometime surprising problems. In the remainder of this paper, I will explore these through situations that I have faced in my first few years as a first generation mentor.

2. The Customs and Demands of Academic Life

Initiating students into the customs, demands and expectations of academic life involves some explicit instruction. We know from the research on mentoring that this instruction is most effective if students are contacted at certain 'critical points' in their academic development. For students in Linguistics, I suggest that the critical points include the following:

(3) **Critical Points:**

- first few weeks of graduate school
- end of the first semester
- immediately after prelims, qualifying exams, etc, when students are likely to feel 'at sea', facing whatever comes next
- during the dissertation year
- at the beginning of the year when she/he is to go on the job market

Many graduate programs have a schedule for formal and informal contact with students which includes group or individual meetings at these critical points. In a

program in which the mechanisms are not already in place, the critical points should be kept in mind in establishing contact with individual advisees, and perhaps students could be encouraged to organize themselves and solicit a more formal schedule of career information meetings. For example, the faculty member could suggest that she would be available to attend a meeting in which students passed around conference abstracts or CVs and gave each other feedback.

This sort of advice is relatively straightforward. However, much of the initiation into the ins and outs of academic life is done more subtly – the student observes the mentor, and learns by example how to conduct her or himself as a member of the academic community. The first generation mentor faces two serious obstacles in attempting to perform this function. Both of these obstacles arise from the inherently gendered nature of social roles and the fact that one traditional custom and expectation of academic life is that professors are (white) males.

The first obstacle is the fact that even in a community where women are accepted as scholars there is likely to be no consensus about the appropriate way to resolve conflicts between expectations for academics and expectations for females. To oversimplify a bit for the sake of example, the successful academic is expected to be objective, competitive and demanding, characteristics which are an extension of the characteristics stereotypically associated with men. Women, on the other hand, are expected to be empathetic, cooperative and nurturing. It is therefore not a straightforward matter to initiate a female student into the world of academia, or even to choose for ourselves the best approach to serving as a mentor. Should I be careful to be aloof and demanding with my students, so that they might observe this behavior in a female professor, and adopt it, at least in part? Or should I be nurturing and encouraging, thus reinforcing female stereotypes, but

perhaps providing a balance to the environment fostered by male faculty? At times, we may find that the best we can do is to help students find a means by which they can begin to confront some of these conflicts. When I began graduate school, I thought that I could just 'unlearn' all of the female roles that were imposed upon me by society, and learn to behave like an academic. This was naive in two ways. First of all, I was wrongly assuming that there was nothing valuable about the female roles that ought to be retained. There is an increasing body of literature, including Gilligan (1982) and Belenky et al. (1986) which disabuses us of this misconception. Secondly, I was wrongly assuming that it is uniformly possible to shed roles imposed by society. In middle or upper class American society, this may be possible, but the price is often high. In many societies it is impossible. I have listened to many Asian women discuss with resignation the fact that no matter how well they do in graduate school and no matter how many personal sacrifices they are willing to make, their applications for teaching positions in their home country will always be considered after the applications of men who apply. Closer to home, we know that an overwhelming proportion of married American men do far less than half of the housework and childcare in their homes, even when their wives work full time. Most of the men I know with children began their marriages with egalitarian intentions, but somehow these intentions never completely materialized once the children were born. In some cases, the man was not willing to sacrifice work or research hours for child care, so the woman took up the slack, either by choice or by necessity. In other cases, the man was up against the pressures of a society in which behavior that was acceptable for a working mother (such as leaving a business meeting to pick up a sick child, or being exhausted due to having gotten up repeatedly to take care of a child in the middle of the night) was considered unacceptable for him. We may work toward changing some of these aspects of society, but for the present, these are facts of life which must be taken into

account when we advise students on how to resolve conflicts between academic ambitions and the expectations of society.

The second obstacle that we confront in imparting the ways of academia to our female students arises through a deeper examination of these conflicts between the expectations that society has of females and the expectations it has of academics. It is the fact that we find that we must ask to what extent it is desirable to teach students to perpetuate the traditional customs of academia. Even those of us who have succeeded by adopting many of the traditional values of academia may be interested in fostering discussion of the potential for change, and thus would not be satisfied to see our students simply mimicking the choices we have made.

As Roberts points out in her paper in this volume, a peer group may often be a more appropriate forum for dealing with some of these conflicts than a one-on-one mentor/student relationship. It is therefore crucial that we make our students aware that we would support them in their efforts to find new ways to explore the customs, values and expectations of academic life.

3. Sharing Wisdom and Knowledge

The effective mentor in our field will be one who is an active and respected member of the community of scholars in linguistics. Presuming that the first generation mentor has succeeded in overcoming the subtle types of discrimination which can often undermine the visibility of women's research, there are still difficulties that she confronts. Foremost among these is the conflict between her commitment to being an effective teacher and advisor and her commitment to her research program. Time spent talking with students is time taken away from doing research, and there are generally not enough hours in the week both to do the sort of research that wins national recognition and spend

the amount of time that we would like on student advising. Women who interact well with students may often find themselves sought out as advisors, on personal as well as academic matters, and may find their research programs lagging behind those of their more aloof colleagues. Each of us has to decide how much time we are able to spend on formal and informal mentoring, and make our schedules clear to our students. Only by setting some boundaries will we be able to serve as a model to students of a successful female teacher and researcher.

Assuming now that we do find ample time to engage in research, it should be emphasized that we ought to be sure that we are sharing our results with the students. I recently had a surprising and instructive conversation with a female colleague in which we both revealed that although we had graduated from prestigious doctoral programs and had been given several opportunities to teach graduate seminars in Linguistic theory during our first few years of teaching, neither of us had actually taught our dissertations. Despite our apparent success in the field, neither of us felt that our dissertations were worthwhile reading materials for a graduate seminar! Yet we knew many male classmates who spent an entire semester teaching their own dissertations. If we are to be effective role models to our female students, we must expose them to quality research done by women, including that done by ourselves.

4. Career Assistance

A graduate student whose advisor is well-connected and holds a position of prestige can be at a tremendous advantage on the job market. As advisors, we are often required to pass judgement on our students in a way that can make or break their chances for a certain job. Of course, our goal is to be as objective as possible, and to assist all students to the greatest extent possible. One difficulty that I have found in treating all students

equally is that the male students are much more likely than the female students to make sure that I know who they are, what they are working on, and what they are good at. They show up spontaneously at my office more often, expound in class more confidently about their own ideas, and stay after class more often to tell me about what they are working on. In the early years of teaching, when the workload is overwhelming, it can be very difficult to seek out the more diffident students. This means that when the time comes to write letters of recommendation, the more aggressive students have an advantage simply because we know more about them. I assume that while a certain amount of aggressiveness is vital for an academic, it is in no way directly correlated with teaching or research abilities. Therefore, I have found it crucial to learn ways to draw out the more retiring students. Strategies I have found effective and fairly efficient are the following:

(4)

- Inform the student that you are aware that aggressiveness does not equal intelligence.
- make editorial suggestions when writing style is excessively hedging
- mention good papers by the less aggressive students to the more aggressive ones
- encourage students to set up an informal student colloquium to share their ideas
- require students to meet with you before settling on a paper topic

5. Fostering a Positive Professional Self-Image

As first generation mentors, we want to provide our students with the role model that we never had. We hope that by their interactions with us, our students will internalize an image of the successful academic which includes women, and that they will also develop an image of themselves as successful scholars. Providing the model is the easy part, although it does require an

ongoing commitment to dealing with our own ambivalences about our role and our capabilities. The hard part is that we cannot instantly eradicate the societal pressures that undermine a woman's professional self-image, and we cannot serve as psychiatrist for our students. In fact, my own experience has been that if I actively try to address the self-image problems of my female students, I encounter a dangerous pitfall: by assuming that my female student have more severe self-image problems than my male students, I court the possibility that my expectations may influence the students' self images. In order to avoid this sort of self-fulfilling prophecy, I remind myself that the students come to me to learn linguistics and to learn how to be an academic, and my job is to take them seriously as scholars, with personality being fairly irrelevant. I would suggest that my role in the development of the self-image of my students is enhanced if I take my students' personal lives seriously enough to be careful not to try to deal with issues for which more effective resources exist elsewhere. I am not a counselor and I cannot override the negative effects of society on a woman's self-image. However, I can stay as informed as possible about the resources that exist for women students on campus and in the community, and we can make it known that we encourage students to use these resources. Finally, we can set an example by remaining active in organizations for women in the Linguistics profession and in academia in general.

References

Belenky, Mary Field, Blythe McVicker Clinchy, Nancy Rule Goldberger and Jill Mattuck Tarule (1986) Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice and Mind, Basic Books, New York.

Etaugh, Claire and Helen Czachorski Kasley (1981) "Evaluating Competence: Effects of Sex, Marital

Status and Parental Status," Psychology of Women Quarterly, 6, 197-203.

Freeman, Jo (1979) Women, A Feminist Perspective, Mayfield Publishing Co., Palo Alto CA.

Gilligan, Carol (1982) In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development, Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA.

Hall, R. and B. Sandler (1983), "Academic Mentoring for Women Students and Faculty: A New Look at an Old Way to Get Ahead," Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, Washington, D.C.

Henley, Nancy (1985) "Psychology and Gender," Signs, 11.1, 101-119.

Keller, Evelyn Fox and H. Moglen (1987) "Competition and Feminism: Conflicts for Academic Women," Signs, 12.3, 493-511.

Martin, Elaine (1984) "Power and Authority in the Classroom:Sexist Stereotypes in Teaching Evaluations," Signs 9.3, 482-492.

Merriam, S. (1983), "Mentors and Proteges: A Critical Review of the Literature," Adult Education Quarterly, 33.3, 161-172.

Roberts, Craige (this volume) "Gender Values and Success in Academia."

Simeone, Angela (1987) Academic Women: Working Towards Equality, Bergin and Garvey Publishers, S. Hadley, MA.

He Was Her Mentor, She Was His Muse: Women as Mentors, New Pioneers[1]

Amy Sheldon
University of Minnesota

Figure 1. Photograph from the Dover Pictorial Archive, Dover Publications, New York, NY.

Women are now a sizeable minority on college and university faculties. But the history of women in the United States goes back to a time when institutions of higher education were run by and for men. If a woman was admitted to a college, if she completed her studies, and if the school granted her a degree, she was often excluded from the professions[2].The male-centered beginnings of most universities and colleges have affected both the intellectual content in the academy as well as the social practices within it, to this day. It is within this context that women have been educated and are now making contributions. Women also are mentors, which is to say that we are intellectual and professional role models and exemplars, teachers, coaches, sponsors

and benefactors, mirrors, cheerleaders, and supporters; we provide coping strategies, inside information, career planning strategies, and professional advice (from Christensen, Frits and Healy). As this list indicates, mentoring is complicated.

Mentoring is part of a major developmental process: the process of apprenticing others to take their place in the work world outside of the home. Gender plays a part in how we mentor and are mentored because in our society women still struggle with an ideology that discourages or makes it difficult for women to pursue paid creative work outside of the home. Our gender ideology defines the good woman as one who puts other people's interests and needs before her own: her husband's, her children's, her aging parents', her boss's, and her coworkers'. The "good" woman is nice. She is a helper. She is not competitive. Our gender ideology devalues women's work, women's brainpower, women's writing, women's voice, women's ambitions, in short, capacities one must not only have, but must also believe in if one is to be successful and to achieve (e.g. see Olsen 1978, Russ 1983). This gender ideology shapes our workplace as well. For example, many universities still do not have a maternity leave policy or a sexual harassment policy. The term sexual harrassment didn't even exist until women created it as a legal term in the early 1970s (Kramarae and Treichler 1985:413).

The word mentoring derives from the surrogate father relationship that Mentor had with Telemachus after King Odysseus set out for Troy. The word refers to an ancient and traditional model of mentoring which features an older, wiser man apprenticing a *younger man* to assume his "*rightful place*...in the existing (male, political-social) *hierarchy* through socialization to its norms and expectations" (Hall and Sandler 1983, emphasis and parenthesis mine.) Levinson (1978), in his book on mentoring, says that 'The mentor relationship is one of the most complex, and developmentally

important, a man can have in early adulthood.' Certainly mentors are as important for women.

Since higher education is an apprenticeship to a male world, when mentoring involves a female we might expect differences. The prototype and still most prevalent form of mentoring is the surrogate father-daughter model. That relationship is captured in Figure 1. What does this image of mentoring say to you? Are you in this picture? Adrienne Rich (1975) makes an important observation on the nature of the traditional mentoring that women have had by academic men which goes along well with this picture:

> Like the favorite daughter in the patriarchal family, the promising woman student comes to identify with her male scholar-teacher more strongly than with her sisters. He may well be in the position to give her more, in terms of influence, training and emotional gratification, than any academic women on the scene. In a double sense, he confirms her suspicion that she is 'exceptional'.

Woman-to-woman and woman-to-man mentoring is so new that little is known about the difficulties and complexities. Keller and Moglen (1978:497) in a sobering paper have said that:

> ...for all women in positions of academic power, relations with younger, less powerful women remain problematic--as problematic as relations to those in power are to the younger women themselves.

This observation should not be surprising since conflicts in male mentoring relationships have been noted also (Levinson 1978). To help us think about the problematic side, I will describe five issues that can affect how well a

female-headed mentoring relationship functions and explore why they can be problematic.

The first issue is **self-disclosure/boundaries**. Mentoring is a relationship that starts in a public setting. As it develops, the public roles of the participants are augmented by private experiences. The public-private dualism of the mentoring relationship is one way in which it is different from teaching, since, oddly enough, teaching has traditionally been conceptualized in higher education as something impersonal. How much intimacy can the mentoring relationship support? Mokros, Erkut and Spichiger (1981) found that male relationships with students are focused on the work at hand and exclude the personal dimension. Blackburn et al. (1980) found that a male mentor's knowing less about his protege's personal life correlates with greater productivity for the mentor.

On the other hand, women teachers are more likely to discuss personal matters with students. We have more influence than male teachers on the personal values and life style decisions of female students (Erkut and Mokros 1981). However, the additional time and psychic energy that a mentor devotes to the personal side of the relationship may stand in the way of her own productivity and thus diminish her professional competitive standing.

Women students need to hear about other women's experiences in negotiating the male-centered worlds of study and work. Because these stories have largely not been told and are not part of women's collective experience, women have a great need for role models and exemplars. But breaking this silence can pose a dilemma for the mentor. She may see that her story is useful to other women, and may believe in the importance of sharing her hard-earned wisdom. But she may also feel that the protege is invading her personal boundaries and drawing on reserves of energy that are needed for her

work. In addition, meaningful self-disclosure is difficult at best, and in the academic environment it is typically not done. Therefore to be asked to do it is risky and scary. It confronts the mentor with her own sense of vulnerability as a member of a marginal group in a highly competitive system. Hiding vulnerabilities is something we are trained to do. Deciding how much to reveal about one's personal life or the problems that one has encountered in academia, or whether to reveal anything at all, puts pressure on women mentors. It changes the nature of the academic game, and the consequences of doing so are not well understood. The appropriate academic style is what Bordo (1986) calls 'masculine detachment': "... from the emotional life, from the particularities of time and place, from personal quirks, prejudices, and interests." The fear of self-exposure is eloquently expressed by Keller (1977:90) a Harvard-trained physicist and a feminist:

> It may seem difficult for those removed from the mores of the scientific community to understand the enormous reticence with which anyone, especially a woman, would make public his or her personal impressions and experiences, particularly if they reflect negatively on the community. To do so is not only considered unprofessional, it jeopardizes one's professional image of disinterest and objectivity. Women, who must work so hard to establish that image, are not likely to take such risks. Furthermore, the membership in this community has inculcated in us the strict habit of minimizing any differences due to our sex. I wish therefore to congratulate women in the mainstreams of science who demonstrate such courage.

Martin (1984:486) frames the difficulty as a double bind:

> Students have ambivalent expectations of women faculty: women are supposed to be warm, friendly,

supportive, and deferential, yet professionals are supposed to be objective, neutral, authoritative, and able to offer constructive criticism.

The second problematic area for women mentors is **nurturing**. Nurturing is wonderful if it is reciprocal, yet it can be a trap for the mentor. Women are overwhelmed by the demands that are put on them by teaching and advising. In the past, women have taught more and done less research than men; yet research is rewarded more (Martin 1984).

Outstanding women teachers are expected to be more nurturing than men teachers by: a) being more available, and b) showing more personal concern for students, according to Wall and Barry (1986a, 1986b). Because of this, the time demands on a woman teacher who must also maintain research and publishing schedules can be overwhelming. Beyond being a teacher, a mentor must be willing to commit time and emotion to the relationship, often in large doses and, at the graduate level, over a long period of time. In order to survive, women need to set limits on the use of their time and personal resources by students. One can not mentor everyone. Choices must be made. This undoubtedly results in resentment towards women faculty for setting necessary limits on the use of their time, more than towards men.

A good example of how women are expected to be more available and to show more personal concern for students is the following incident told to me by a colleague. A student whose dissertation committee she was on called her at home on a Sunday. When my colleague suggested that it would be more appropriate for the student to address her query to her dissertation advisor, a male, the student replied that it was Sunday and she couldn't call him at home.

Such incidents may not be quirks and may be part of a pattern of experience unique to women faculty. There is a belief in our society that there are no restrictions on the demands that can be placed on women's time and attention. Women are expected to be at the service of others. People expect to have unlimited access to women. I have received a number of non-urgent phone calls on weekends, at the dinner hour and on sabbatical and leaves, from students, some of whom I did not know, who were asking questions that easily could have waited until regular working hours, or which could have been answered by colleagues or by available resources such as the school catalogue. In a new twist to this, over the past year I was interrupted a number of times when I was working on electronic mail at night. The interruptions were all by males who were strangers, except for one former student. All, except for the former student, were looking for an electronic 'pal'. In how many other ways and to what extent do women lose control of their time?

The third issue is **female authority**. Female authority in academic institutions is fragile (Martin 1984). Women often are not perceived as having authority, and for the most part they don't have institutional positions of authority. Why should students form an alliance with a person who is not perceived as being influential, hence not perceived as being able to promote the protege to the professional community? Erkut and Mokros (1981) found that male students tend to avoid female mentors because they believe that the status and power of male mentors will best promote their educational goals. On the other hand, exceptional women in male-dominated fields are often seen by their women students as impossible to measure up to. This can be difficult for a mentor to hear.

The fourth issue is **conflict and competition**. Keller and Moglen (1987:502) point out that:

> The morality of the women's movement, with its emphasis on mutuality, concern, and support,

seems tremendously difficult to implement in the real world situations of the current academic marketplace.

We don't know if what causes conflict for women mentors is similar to what causes conflict for men and how women's experiences of conflict and competition are different from men's. The greater personal intimacy in women's relationships and the different orientation that women often have towards the needs of others (Gilligan 1982, 1987, 1988) may make us more susceptible to the effect of conflict as well as more skillful in negotiating through it. Some recent studies of girls' and boys' social interaction indicate that, while girls are just as skillful as boys in managing verbal conflict, their styles are different from boys' (Goodwin 1980, 1988, Miller, Danaher and Forbes 1986, Sheldon 1990). Goodwin stresses that differences in speech style are due to differences in the social organization of female and male groups. The patterns that we grow up with can continue to affect our behavior as adults. One colleague tells me that she is better at encouraging students than at criticizing them because she prefers to avoid face-to-face conflict. Clearly, it would be helpful to understand more about female and male differences in how conflict is experienced and how it is negotiated in relationships.

We also need to enlarge our understanding of how women function in highly competitive and depersonalized arenas such as academia. While competition can be expected in all mentoring relationships regardless of the gender valences, there may be differences when the mentor is female. For example, male proteges may feel particularly challenged to match the performance of a female mentor. This may be due in part to the expectations that males should make their mark in the work world, as well as to the culturally constructed notion that a man should not be outdone by a woman, particularly if women are more marginal figures in the academy or in their profession. A

colleague who is an assistant professor told me that her male graduate students are more likely to follow her advice than her female graduate students. One student initially showed no interest in writing his own computer programs for his research until he found out that my colleague knew how to write them and did so for her work.

The fifth issue is **hierarchy**. Some researchers have noted that women mentors seek to establish less hierarchical and more reciprocal mentoring relationships than men, and that they are less directive than male mentors (Hall and Sandler 1983, Mokros, Erkut, Spichiger 1981, Erkut and Mokros 1981). A number of factors might work to reduce the hierarchy: e.g. self-disclosure, collaboration on work, feminist values. However, the desire to abolish hierarchy in student-teacher relationships that function in a hierarchically based institution poses problems and can disrupt the relationship. This is because mentors have more institutional power than proteges. The mentor can or must invoke that power and both parties know it. To ignore this is not realistic. On the other hand, for either party to assume that the mentor is *not* vulnerable is also unrealistic.

I have outlined these five factors as issues that are central to woman's experience in the mentoring relationship. Although I have discussed them as if they are independent of each other, it is my belief that they interact in intricate ways.

Why is it important that we take women mentors seriously as a subject of study? One reason is that women are still learning to be mentors. Our preferred styles may be different from men's. Mentoring women may also be different from mentoring men. Having had a politically saavy female mentor may affect the way women become mentors themselves. Mentoring

ultimately challenges a woman mentor's commitment to other women. To quote Adrienne Rich (1977) again:

> ...(the male 'mentor') can teach (a woman) to name her experience in language that may allow her to live, work, perhaps succeed in the common world of men. But he has no keys to the power she might share with other women.

This observation, I believe, rests at the heart of our attempt to understand female and male mentors. Women mentors are likely to live a stressful double existence. It stems from the fact that we function in a male system in which we adopt male behaviors in order to survive and flourish. The experience confronts us with sex-biased behavioral expectations. A woman mentor has had a different work experience than a man. She may not even be able to articulate the impact of that experience on herself. Does she communicate some of this to her mentee to protect and prepare her? Or does she act as if, and maybe even believe that, the cultural expectations for females make no difference in her career and that a woman's mere presence in the academy is not problematic? Does she deny that the demands of a reproductive time clock and the greater amount of work that women do to give birth, to parent, to maintain a relationship with their partner, and to maintain a home create greater struggles for women and affect women's careers differently than they affect men's?

Mentoring is so crucial to a career that it is conventional for the intellectual biographies or obituaries of highly successful men to acknowledge the help that their careers had from other prominent men. A man's importance and intellectual and political lineage is revealed by knowing who mentored him and who he mentored. Here are two obituaries of male faculty members at the University of Minnesota that appeared in 1986. The first is for a psychologist.

> Kenneth MacCorquodale's academic upbringing was unorthodox. Though William Heron was his doctoral advisor, Richard M. Elliott was his closest counselor and colleague... MacCorquodale wrote of Elliott, 'He was wise, determined, unfailingly kind and courteous, full of personal charm and life. He was a gentleman.' MacCorquodale learned his lesson well at Elliott's knee...While Elliott provided him with one of the most important influences of his career, his intellectual mentor was unquestionably B.F. Skinner.'[3]

The second obituary is for a physicist.

> For the Ph.D. candidates (Irwin H. Fox) was mentor, it was like going into the priesthood. He demanded their total commitment. Fox would think nothing of calling you at midnight with a good idea. And he couldn't understand it if you weren't sitting around reading also.[4]

What will the intellectual biographies of highly successful women look like? I have been struck by two in particular because of their divergence from the predictable male model. The first, an obituary for Leanita McClain, illustrates the pressures on working women taken to the extreme.

> Leanita McClain, an award-winning columnist for the Chicago Tribune, was found dead at her home at age 32, an apparent suicide. A former colleague said she had been depressed by the strain of serving as a role model for other young women. McClain, the first black member of the newspaper's editorial board, was named one of America's 10 most outstanding young working women in the March issue of Glamour magazine.[5]

The second obituary, for Simone De Beauvoir, shows how even a woman of her stature can be remembered by some people.

> De Beauvior and Sartre shared 50 years of the cutting edge of politics and culture. She was the existentialist writer-philosopher's muse and biographer as well as his companion, and he was her mentor.[6]

Notes

[1] This essay contains material from a workshop on issues in professional development for women in linguistics, which I organized for the 1985 Summer Linguistic Institute meetings at Georgetown University, and from a paper presented on a panel, "Mentoring relationships: Definitions, perspectives, and role in life planning," organized by Cheryl Carmin for the Ninety-fifth annual American Psychological Association meetings in New York City in September, 1987. I would like to acknowledge the encouragement I received from Deborah Tannen to develop the LSA workshop. The comments of the following people on earlier versions of this paper are also acknowledged: Anita Barry, Louanna Furbee, Jeanette Gundel, Claire Harkness, Mary Jo Nissen, Jacqueline Schachter, and Deborah Tannen.

[2] For example, in the Nineteenth Century, Belva Lockwood was refused a law degree that she had earned, until President Grant interceded on her behalf; and Antoinette Brown waited twenty-eight years to get the degree she had earned from Oberlin College. Lockwood became the first woman to argue a case before the Supreme Court.

[3] Taken from a two-page obituary in the minutes of the University of Minnesota Senate, 1986.

[4] From an obituary in the Minneapolis Star and Tribune, 1986.

[5] The obituary in the Minneapolis Star and Tribune, 1986.

[6] From an obituary in the Minneapolis Star and Tribune, 1986.

References

Blackburn, R., D. Chapman and E. Cameron. 1980. Cloning in academe: Mentorship and academic careers. Unpublished ms., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Bordo, S. 1986. The cartesian masculinzation of thought. Signs 11.436-456.

Christensen, R., P. Frits and M. A. Healy. Mentoring: A review of the literature and a model program. Unpublished ms., Iowa State University, Ames.

Erkut, S. and J. Mokros. 1981. Professors as models and mentors for college students. Working Paper No. 65. Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, Wellesley, MA.

Gilligan, C. 1982. In a different voice. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Goodwin, M. 1980. Directive-response speech sequences in girls' and boys' activities. Women and language in literature and society, ed. by S. McConnell-Ginet, R. Borker, and N. Furman, 157-173. New York: Praeger.

Goodwin, M. 1988. Cooperation and competition across girls' play activities. Gender and discourse: The

power of talk, ed. by A. D. Todd and S. Fisher, 55-94. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Hall, R. and B. Sandler. 1983. Academic mentoring for women students and faculty: A new look at an old way to get ahead. Project on the Status and Education of Women. Washington, D.C.: Association of American Colleges.

Keller, E. F. 1977. The anomaly of a woman in physics. Working it out, ed. by S. Ruddick and P. Daniels, 77-91. New York: Pantheon Books.

Keller, E. F. and H. Moglen. 1987. Competition and feminism: Conflicts for academic women. Signs 12.493-511. Reprinted in, 1987. Competition. A feminist taboo?, ed. by V. Miner and H. Longino, 21-37. New York: The Feminist Press.

Kramarae, C. and P. Treichler. 1985. A feminist dictionary. Boston: Pandora.

Levinson, D. 1978. The seasons of a man's life. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Martin, E. 1984. Power and authority in the classroom: Sexist stereotypes in teaching evaluations. Signs 9.482-492.

Merriam, S. 1983. Mentors and proteges: A critical review of the literature. Adult Education Quarterly 33.161-173.

Miller, P., D. Danaher and D. Forbes. 1986. Sex-related strategies for coping with interpersonal conflict in children aged five and seven. Developmental Psychology 22.543-548.

Mokros, J., S. Erkut and L. Spichiger. 1981. Mentoring and being mentored: Sex-related patterns among

college professors. Working Paper No. 68, Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, Wellesley, MA.

Olsen, T. 1983. Silences. New York: Laurel.

Rich, A. 1979. Toward a woman-centered University. On lies, secrets and silence, 125-155. New York: W.W. Norton.

Russ, J. 1978. How to suppress women's writing. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Sheldon, A. 1990. Pickle fights: Gendered talk in preschool disputes. Discourse Processes.

Tracy, B. 1985. Are you ready for a mentor? Unpublished ms., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

Wall, H. and A. Barry. 1986a. Student expectations for male and female instructor behavior. Proceedings of the conference on Women in higher education: Traditions, transitions and revolutions, ed. by R.E. Cheatham, 283-291. St. Louis, MO: St. Louis University Metropolitan College and SAASS, Inc.

Wall, H. and A. Barry. 1986b. The effect of gender and competence on student expectations for instructor behavior. Unpublished ms., University of Michigan, Flint.

Part 5

Places in a Woman's Career

The Dissertation Year[1]

Margarita Suñer
Cornell University

The dissertation year is not an easy one for either women or men. For most students, it means they will be facing a large scale project for the first time: a scary thought even when they already have a well defined dissertation topic. It is the transition year when they go from being students to being full-fledged professional scholars. Moreover, there is this general feeling that [±worth] is attached to them via their work, thus, they have to prove themselves through their dissertation. Will the project be original enough? Will it be read by more people than just the committee members? Will it have an impact on the field? Will it be cited? Will it get them a job?

Virginia Valian in her essay "Learning to Work" puts it in the following way:

> . . . much of the time I worked on my thesis I was preoccupied with questions about my ability. How smart was I? How smart was I compared to so-and-so? How creative was I? How good was I at critical analysis? There was no end to these questions. They plagued me. They interfered with my work. I worried about whether I was smart enough to solve such-and-such a problem instead of getting on with trying to solve it. (1977: 172).

These looming thoughts are enough to discourage just about anybody. The above are some of the reasons, I think, that prevent students from starting to write the dissertation. To start means to be committed, to have to face the world and stand on your own two feet.

Now let's consider the individuals. I tend to divide dissertating students into three groups:

Group one: Here I put the very motivated "self-propelled" students. From the beginning, they know what they want to do, they generally have written two or three papers on the topic already. They have confidence in their work. They are a delight to work with. In general, these students need only some guidance: bibliography, more data, and reminders of their objectives to keep them on track.

Group two: These students also have a dissertation topic but it is not as well defined. They have not explored it as deeply as have those in group one. They also tend to keep straying away from it, going off on tangents, and being distracted by the latest theoretical developments or 'hot topics.' They work hard but the end result is not very satisfactory because of their lack of focus.

Group three: As you have already guessed, this is the group which has the most difficulties. In most cases, they have not even settled on a dissertation topic, or if they have, they keep changing it. Indecision and lack of confidence are their hallmarks.

The question is: How can we, as faculty members, help them? Here is what I do, especially with those in groups 2 and 3. From the outset, I confess that I don't have all the answers, that I haven't discovered a system that is fool-proof. What follows are a few suggestions for advising dissertation writers, based on my own experience.

To start with, I put them on a schedule. We decide on a convenient weekly meeting in my office. I tell them, "If I don't see you, or I don't know what kind of progress you're making, I can't help you."

The aim of these meetings is for the students to keep me abreast of their progress, to discuss what they are doing, and how they are doing it, so that I can provide them with input. To help them when they get stuck, to supply them with references and data, to point to possible alternative ways of approaching the problem, or to areas that need more in-depth treatment, to establish a routine, or simply to listen to them. But the hidden agenda is to force them to keep moving ahead. Since they have to make regular visits to my office, very few people come empty handed week after week. Minimally, we discuss what they have achieved so far, and what the next step(s) should be.

It also gives me a chance to keep asking them about the main objectives of their work, so that they do not lose sight of their final goal. And although it is true that sometimes while investigating the original topic a more interesting one is discovered which might make it advisable to change direction, the objectives of their work should always be clear to them and to me. I again quote from Valian:

> Successful workers delimit what they're working on; when they get an ancillary idea in the course of the project, they keep it in mind to see if it will work in easily and naturally, or if it ought to be dropped temporarily and retrieved for consideration once the present project is finished. In contrast, I usually tried to incorporate that new idea no matter what; the result was that the project went all over the place and became impossible to finish. (1977: 174).

Whenever I feel that the students have lost track, I suggest that they take some distance from what they are doing: that they look at their project from the outside, that they visualize it globally, so that they can break it into its component pieces, such as chapters, and then conceptualize what will be treated in each chapter. This

new conceptualization should then be put in writing as a revised dissertation proposal. I find this helps them tremendously, especially when they have been producing for a semester or so. This strategy helps them redirect their energies; it gives them a better sense of what they are working on.

I also ask them to put their ideas in writing. Not only does it provide me with more time to ponder the issues, but it also gives the students a better reading of how good a grasp they have on whatever they are investigating. Many times promising proposals must be discarded, loose ends appear that need tightening, or sometimes we are both pleasantly surprised at the coherence of the work. In a recent article, the Nobel laureate R. Hoffmann expands on the intimate link between scientific writing and the process of discovery "I have inklings of ideas, half-baked stories, a hint that an observation is relevant. But almost never do I arrive at a satisfactory explanation until I have to, which is when I write a paper. Then things come together, or maybe I make them come together." (1989: 2) This is what I would like my students to find out for themselves; this is the main reason I insist on having things in writing.

One difficult problem in general is when to make the decision to stop background reading and researching, and to start writing. There is a point beyond which it is effective escapism to continue reading others because it delays really beginning one's project and also saves one from having to take chances. Of course, background reading is part of research but ultimately the researcher must begin to articulate original ideas. Therefore, I sometimes take the initiative with my students and recommend that it is time to begin with the writing. I would not be able to do this if I did not have them in my office every week.

Some other practical suggestions I offer:

- Break the project into smaller pieces, as if this were a series of papers, so that each has a finite feeling and becomes more doable.

- Present papers (dealing with parts of the dissertation) at conferences or at some local forum (we have a "Tuesday Colloquium" series at Cornell) so there is strong motivation to finish them by a given deadline. In addition, this is useful because of the potential feedback the writer might get.

- Establish a daily routine for dissertation writing. X amount of time set aside, or x number of pages written. Valian settled on fifteen minutes a day without interruptions to start with; she even scaled it down to 5 minutes in moments of extreme anxiety such as when she began the introduction. She writes "The main virtue of 15 minutes for me was that it was long enough for me to get something done and short enough to be sure I could get through it." (1977: 168)

- Set yourself deadlines: so much done by Thanksgiving, chapter such and such for Christmas, etc. Ideally, students should have the completed first draft of their dissertation by Christmas so they can talk about it when being interviewed at the LSA Meeting. I tell them that they will be preoccupied with job interviewing for the first half of the Spring semester, therefore, they only have about half a semester and a summer to be done.

- Get together with other graduate students who are going through the same ordeal; that is, become part of a "support" type of group, and discuss your problems and tribulations. You will discover that many of them are shared.

In all of the above, I have not noticed any obvious gender gap, that is, I have had both males and females in all

three groups of students mentioned above. However, there are some differences.

In general, it seems that women students expect more from their advisor, perhaps especially from female advisors. Women seem to need more hand-holding and reassurance than do males, and they expect that from us. This may reflect the psychological phenomena Valian noted in her talk at this conference; women are more likely than men to interpret difficulties and failures as due to lack of ability and less likely to see successes as deriving from their own capacities.

Their family circumstances intervene more as well. If they are married and their husband is a student too, the husband is most often the one who gets priority in job hunting. Moreover, if the husband finishes first, the woman tends to follow him, even when she is not through dissertating (much to her detriment).

If there are children, guess who plays a more central role in raising them, in staying home when babysitting fails or when the child is sick, etc, etc.

All these might be a consequence of the fact that society as a whole does not yet encourage women to take themselves seriously as workers and contributors, nor does it provide women with a sense of their intellectual capabilities.

Those of us who are advising women as they embark on writing linguistic dissertations can help change this social background at least to some extent by offering the kind of guidance and ongoing encouragement I have outlined to both women and men, and by taking special steps to help women realize and achieve their potential during this critical period.

Acknowledgment

1 I am grateful to Sally McConnell-Ginet and Ann Peters for their comments and suggestions.

References

Hoffmann, R. 1989. Research/Teaching – A Complex Dance. Cornell Undergraduate Education 2. 1-3.

Valian, Virginia. 1977. Learning to Work. In S. Ruddick and P. Daniels (eds), Working It Out. NY: Pantheon

A Dean's Perspective on Women in Academe

Francine Frank
State University of New York at Albany[1]

Several participants in this conference have discussed the importance of mentors and of networks for women linguists in higher education; I would like to extend the discussion by focussing on what happens when a woman faculty member moves into the position of dean – usually thought of as a position of leadership.

What happens to the woman in terms of her own career? her discipline, her position vis a vis faculty colleagues and other administrators? What must she do for herself to maintain her integrity and her personal well being? And how can she help others, especially women, to overcome the obstacles to professional advancement that still exist, and help make the University a more hospitable place for everyone? I certainly don't have all the answers, but I have thought a great deal about the subject and have developed some guiding principles for myself. Lest anyone doubt that there are still obstacles, I'll quote the 'New Agenda of Women for Higher cation' to the effect that, despite many improvements, 'women are still second-class citizens on our college campuses – unrepresented in the curriculum, often put down in the classroom, and underrepresented in the major leadership roles in higher education.' (Shavlik et al 1989:445). Women in academic administration are growing in number, but as is the case for women faculty and minority group members, they are still under-represented. So it is not surprising that I do on occasion feel like Kate in *Death in a Tenured Position* 'Kate would sometimes picture her tombstone with 'The Token Woman' engraved in the marble. Above the inscription androgynous angels would indifferently float.' (Amanda Cross 1982, cited by Kramarae and

Treichler 1985:452). The following definitions, also culled from Kramarae and Treichler (452), remain valid *in many areas of university life:*

> A token woman is 'an honorary man' (Elizabeth Wilson 1975); [They] have been allowed into pieces of patriarchal territory as a show of female presence. They are understood to represent the female 'half of the human species' in male terrain. The hidden agenda of their role includes thinking 'like a man,' ...while at the same time behaving according to the feminine stereotype. (Mary Daly 1978)

I try not to think or act as a token woman, for that would indicate that I had adopted the traditional masculinist agenda and abandoned the goal that I think women administrators must pursue now and in the foreseeable future – the empowerment of women in higher education. How *does* one avoid succumbing to the temptation to be 'one of the boys?' A key factor in my own career has been establishing and maintaining a network of women colleagues – a mutual support group based on trust. Without such a support group, it is more difficult to succeed and easier to behave as a token. I believe that the empowerment of women is inseparable from the advancement of a feminist agenda and is not a matter of a few individuals who belong biologically to the female sex making it to the upper reaches of the educational hierarchy.

Other participants at this conference have adopted the autobiographical mode; I will follow this trend and sketch briefly my own career. Although atypical in several ways, it exemplifies some of the pitfalls and opportunities that many faculty members, especially women, meet.

After receiving my Ph.D. in 1955, I taught at the university for 1 1/2 years while waiting for my husband

to complete his degree. Then, as we had planned, we went to Europe for a few years. My husband had a post-doctoral appointment in Geneva, Switzerland with a minimal stipend. I had hoped to obtain support for a research project (translating de Saussure to English), but was not successful. So, I had to earn some money; for this purpose, my Ph.D. was more a hindrance than a help. Thanks to some typing skills, I ended up as a secretary in an international organization. One year later, I moved into a professional position as a language training officer, thanks to the support of my supervisor. He was the second man who had offered me generous support in my career; the first had been my graduate adviser. As my new position proved interesting and as the breakup of my marriage occurred about this time, I stayed in Geneva another nine years.

My working environment was basically patriarchal, though there were some supportive men and a few other women in the professional ranks. The women were on the bottom rungs and were essentially tokens. I got to take minutes, write memos for colleagues, and fill in for other professionals, as well as carry out my own responsibilities. I was the object of gossip and envy from other women. Although I was disturbed by this situation, I had no feminist consciousness to put it in proper perspective. Over time, I gained respect for my good work as a mid-level official but I was never in a policy-making position.

In 1966, having decided to return to academe, I arrived in Albany, naive and idealistic about university life. I found many friends, but no mentors. Most people had no idea how the tenure process worked. It seemed that you 'did your thing' and, after six years, you received a letter. So I did just that, taught what was assigned to me, served on committees, listened, read to catch up with developments in linguistics, but did little or no writing. During this time, people started talking about the new standards for tenure, including scholarly publications. I

became a bit worried, but was reassured by colleagues because my dissertation had been published by a reputable university press. Finally, the time arrived and, after much deliberation, I was awarded tenure but was not promoted. It took several more years and some research activity to achieve promotion to Associate Professor. During this time, I became aware of the Women's Movement and feminism; it was a catalyst for my own research. Triggered by a request to lecture on women and language in a Women's Studies course, my interest in language and gender has led to two books and several articles. I also learned a great deal about the status of women in academe – faculty, students, and staff; about masculinist bias in the curriculum; assumptions regarding 'normal' career paths, etc. In brief, I discovered what has been called the 'chilly climate.' "A 'chilly climate' for women that, according to statistics and verbal reports, many women find profoundly alienating, in turn, may lead to lower self-confidence, discourage intellectual participation, and jeopardize women's potential for equal education and achievement" (Kramarae and Treichler 27). Hall and Sandler (1982; 1986) discuss the "every day inequities" that contribute to the creation of a chilly climate for women in colleges and universities.

Working with others, mostly women, on these matters led to the growth of a personal support network, marked by mutual mentoring, by mutual defense when one women is threatened professionally, even by protests over unfair treatment by the academy. Together, such groups of women have helped to warm up the climate, though there is still a long way to go. Belonging to such a network has helped me personally, and was a significant factor in my becoming Dean. In addition to the support group, I did have a role model from the past for the deanship, and a mentor in my first year as dean, both of them women.

One essential element in avoiding being a token, I strongly believe, is that women must not compromise their feminist vision as they move up. They must continue to work for a feminist agenda of institutional change in the belief that this will make higher education a more equitable place for both sexes and for people of all ethnic groups. To accomplish this, women must not shed their feminist support groups but try to strengthen and expand these networks. They need to assist colleagues and junior women; to listen carefully and heed warnings that they may be abandoning their principles and adopting a masculinist agenda. At the same time, colleagues must not expect too much. They should understand that the woman administrator's power may be severely limited; she may be a lone voice and if she antagonizes all her male peers and superiors, she may become ineffective. Balance is required – balance between caution and confidence in the rightness of one's stand.

Dangers:

1. Being viewed or actually becoming a one-issue person. There are other issues and as leaders we are responsible for all the people that report to us.

2. Using the above as an excuse to abandon women's issues. Risk-taking is necessary, but one must choose one's battles carefully and not risk a serious loss and consequent ineffectiveness over a minor issue.

Sources of assistance:

1. Other women in the peer group. The presence of a woman Vice President and two other women Deans this past year has made a vast difference. My views are no longer dismissed or ignored. I'm not the only one to insist that gender is important, that

promoting minority concerns does not entail abandoning women's issues.

2. Other women in a similar position elsewhere with whom one can discuss sensitive matters that cannot easily be discussed on campus.

3. A local support group; as I have indicated earlier, this can provide great moral support.

Responsibllities:

1. Promote a feminist agenda, in faculty hiring, promotion, and mentoring activities.

2. Practice what you preach.

3. Refuse to ignore masculinist assumptions and statements, from language to institutional goals.

4. Challenge these constructively, but persistently.

5. Remind peers and superiors that women have not yet achieved equality in our educational system.

6. Actively assist Women's Studies activities and research on women.

7. Remember that not all women are feminists and that some men are, that individual women may not be highly qualified or may be wrong. Be fair.

8. Try not to make too many mistakes but, when you do, admit it and go on; don't let others use your mistake as evidence that women are not capable by dwelling on it yourself.

9. Don't be modest about your own achievements. By virtue of your position, you are inevitably a role model for others.

Some specifics on above list of responsibilities:

Hiring. Understand nontraditional career patterns of many women; try to see past the circumstances to the real potential of the individual, and encourage others, including women, to do so. Many women in linguistics have accepted the 'objectivity' of the discipline and view concerns with gender as trivial. Encourage people to carry out a critique of their own discipline.

Preparing for tenure and promotion. All junior faculty need mentoring and advice, but men seem to get more informal assistance than women. Encourage people to help themselves, to prepare early without becoming obsessed by the goal, to be sure they are evaluated frequently by their peers and chairs, to get feedback and advice on research and publishing, to engage in multiple mentoring, and seek peer support.

In helping other women advance, take an interest in the career aspirations of your own staff. Don't assume that everyone wants to climb the ladder but encourage those with ability to make the most of it.

Serve on search committees. Encourage appropriate consideration of non-traditional career patterns. Provide feedback to women on interview problems.

Changing institutional behavior is the goal, but in the meantime, women have to learn to get ahead in the institution as it is. Accomplishing this without compromising one's beliefs is difficult; women must help one another to do so.

Notes

[1]The author is Dean of the College of Humanities and Fine Arts at SUNY Albany.

References

Cross, Amanda. 1982. Death in a tenured position. New York: Ballantine Books.

Daly, Mary. 1978. Gyn/ecology" the metaethics of radical feminism. Boston: Beacon Press.

Hall, Roberta M., and Bernice R. Sandler. 1982. The classroom climate: a chilly one for women? Washington: Association of American Colleges, Project on the Status and Education of Women.

Kramarae, Cheris, and Paula A. Treichler. 1985. A feminist dictionary. Boston: Pandora.

Sandler, Bernice R., and Roberta M. Hall. 1986. The campus climate revisited: chilly for women faculty, administrators, and graduate students. Washington: Association of American Colleges, Project on the Status and Education of Women.

Shavlik, Donna L., Judith G. Touchton, and Carol S. Pearson. 1989. The new agenda of women for higher education. Educating the majority: women challenge tradition in higher education. ed. by Pearson et al., 441-58. New York: American Council on Education/ Macmillan.

Wilson, Elizabeth. 1975. An opposing imate. Red Rag 9. Rpt. 1981. No turning back: writings from the women's liberation movement 1975-80. ed. by Feminist Anthology Collective, 11-14. London: The Women's Press.

From Graduate School to Tenure

Carlota S. Smith
University of Texas

After writing a dissertation and finding a job, two hurdles that are much discussed, junior members of the linguistics profession are on their own. The challenges and pitfalls of the next stage of academic life - the junior faculty stage - have not received very much attention. Yet I think that they are well worth considering. As junior faculty members women tend to be successful in some ways and unsuccessful in others. I want to discuss briefly the likely successes and failures; I will then make some comments about why the difficulties arise and how women might deal with them. I will focus exclusively on academic life but I think that essentially the same points can be made about the hurdles in other areas.

There is a tremendous tension in the first years of professional life, due at least in part to conflicting demands. As junior faculty members, people are supposed to become teachers and active members of their departments and institutions; they are supposed to do research, to publish, and to become visible in their profession. There are also personal goals and obligations. People of both sexes, in all fields, are affected by these conflicting demands. But women tend to be more affected than men. Women tend to be overwhelmed by teaching and departmental duties. They often fail to give sufficient time and attention to their own research, and even if they have begun to develop a reputation in their fields, they often publish relatively little. To put it harshly, women often fail to fulfill their promise in their chosen field.

Let me set this out in more detail, exaggerating somewhat to make my point. In their first jobs, as junior faculty members, women tend to be conscientious and very good citizens of their departments. They put a lot of

time into teaching, advising, and other departmental and institutional duties. They serve on committees, take care of various matters - often not enjoying these activities very much. They are good girls. The pattern is the rather familiar one of devotion and invisibility at their college or university. Yet women often feel dissatisfied, and uncertain. They are not clear about how much community service is appropriate. And in spite of their efforts they tend to feel left out of the life of department and the institution to which they belong. They may feel that they don't know what's going on, they aren't given basic information about such matters as preparing their files for tenure.

In their field junior faculty women tend to lag behind. They don't find time to pursue their research, they don't publish very much. They tend not to turn up at many conferences and meetings. And when they do go to meetings, they are not strong presences: they don't ask lots of questions or make many comments. Their new ideas are not widely known or widely discussed. Thus women tend to drop out of sight, lagging behind and failing to become visible in the field. (Lest the reader think that this is too extreme a caricature, let me note that several women told me, after they had heard my talk, that I had described their behavior as junior faculty members quite accurately.) I don't think that the pattern I have noticed is attributable only to women's taking on too much in their departments and at home. There is something else, a push, a striving in their field, that is often lacking. To make such a push may often require a conscious choice and considerable effort for a women, an effor that requires advance preparation.

This is not a desirable pattern of behavior, because it doesn't lead either to high salaries and high regard in one's university, or to high regard in one's field. The pattern is by no means limited to women in linguistics. So it is probably a mistake to look for either its genesis or its cure in the field of linguistics. In some ways the

lagging behind seems to be due to unwise choices about use of time and energy, especially when combined with personal factors such as the responsibilities of family life. As individuals women often fail to see things in terms of choices, and tend not to make the most activist choice. However it seems to me that there's something else here, a larger problem which is at root a social one. When there is a recurrent pattern we look for reasons that go beyond the personal. This is one thing the women's movement has taught us. I think the pattern I have described is due to the socialization which many women experience before graduate school. This socialization comes to the fore unless which countered explicitly, as it is often is before and during graduate school.

I think that the good-girl, relatively passive pattern of behavior can be traced to the way that women are socialized in our society. The reason we find the pattern among professional faculty women is that they aren't adequately prepared in graduate for their positions as faculty members. In the absence of such preparation women tend to fall back on the early patterns of socialization. To see this, consider the success of women in graduate school. Women do very well indeed in graduate school: they write papers, give talks in classes, publish if possible, and complete a dissertation, while juggling the demands of collegiality and personal life. Evidently, they have the ability, character and discipline to make choices among competing demands, and to make a concerted effort in their fields. It's important to note that people know what to do in graduate school. The demands and challenges of graduate work are quite well-known, so that in a very real sense people who embark on a graduate career are prepared for it. There are formal hurdles in graduate school: courses, admission to candidacy, writing a dissertation, getting one's first job. There is also a good deal of informal lore, which amounts to training of a sort. The situation is quite different when people go from

graduate school to their first job. There is little preparation, little discussion. In the junior faculty situtation, then, I think that women are under stress and tend to fall back on long-established patterns. They do this partly because of inadequate preparation for what to expect. (The way that men are generally socialized does not prepare them so inadequately for the situation of a junior faculty member.)

If I'm right, one way of dealing with the problem immediately suggests itself. Visibility in one's university and in the profession comes from behaving in certain ways, which ways are not automatic or comfortable for many women. Visibility contradicts the patterns of socialization that most women experience. Visibility in one's university and in the profession comes from behaving in certain ways, which ways are not comfortable, typical of women. They are contrary to the pattern of socialization that most women experience. Seeing these patterns surface or re-surface after graduate school suggests something about how to deal with them. Other, more productive modes of behavior should be presented, with special efforts to see that the message gets to women.

In graduate school we should make a concerted effort to prepare women for their positions as faculty members. The central message is that, as junior faculty members, they would do well to behave in an active mode. They need to know what formal and informal hurdles and difficulties to expect; they need to know what are the most successful patterns of behavior. I make a few comments below on some points that might well be included in such training.

Women should be prepared to actively pursue their professional and intellectual lives. They should be encouraged to function in an active mode. This involves some thinking about what people are doing, will do, should do. And asking questions. Too often women don't

initiate questions, don't seek out answers to them - may not even realize that questions may be asked about e.g. interviewing, journals, etc. I was vividly reminded of this point when I filled out the questionnaire for this conference. In the section about graduate school, one point was whether one had received answers to questions and/or other important help from mentors faculty members other students etc. I found it difficult to respond to this section. When thinking about my own graduate school experience - which was a long ago - I realized that I rarely or never asked questions of faculty members, other students, etc. What was striking was that I did not ask for help directly, or seek it indirectly. I could only respond No to the questionnaire, but that wasn't the point. What struck me that I had not asked questions, in graduate school or as a junior faculty member. This failure was not due to timidity: it simply didn't occur to me to ask. And perhaps because I didn't expect to ask, I never formulated or wondered about questions that were or might have been important. In particular professional and collegial sorts of questions. I'm not talking about intellectual questions.

Women preparing for their first jobs need to think in terms of making choices, and of making active choices. They need to decide how much time to put into teaching and when they can be available to students for advising.

It is important for junior faculty to pursue their research in linguistics and to bring it to fruition. And to pursue and publicize their ideas. If you have an idea talk about it, tell people, use it in as many ways and cases as possible. Follow up questions that interest you, both informally and in public. What all this amounts to is there is an active, professional mode of action. It can be observed and, to some extent, taught. Obviously the choices that people make will differ according to the individual and to different stages in their careers and personal lives. What I'm concerned with here is the range of possibilities, and the difference between

proessional and stereotypic sex-typed patterns of behavior.

As members of a college or university, women should learn to play the institutional game - and to enjoy the game, as an active and effective senior women at my university puts it. This includes choosing to work on certain issues and committees, and not on others, according to what one finds interesting and what might be of use. One should spend some effort in getting to know people in the institution and finding out what's going on. To some extent this is a matter of finding where one's talents lie, and what activities one enjoys the most.

I think that women in graduate school can be prepared for some of the problems which exist acutely for them at the next stages of their careers. The preparation would make women aware of the situations that they will encounter, and of different ways of dealing with those situations. By identifying more and less successful patterns of behavior, we can help women to make deliberate, active, and effective choices as junior faculty members.

Living on the Margin: Pros and cons of Being Linguists in an English Department

Edwin Battistella & Anne Lobeck
University of Alabama at Birmingham

Introduction: Existing on the margin of the university

Women in academe are sometimes described as marginalized, as being diverted or excluded from the official modes of discourse and access to authority and power. In a certain sense though, linguistics as a field is marginalized in the typical university structure. This is due, we suspect, to several factors: the existence of linguistics for so long as primarily an esoteric graduate field; the common subordination of linguistics programs to larger administrative units; the exclusion of linguists' voices from pre-college language curricula; the tokenization or absence of linguistics in college-level writing programs.

Our linguistics program exists in a triply marginalized situation: first, we're at a southern university far from what are usually thought of as the centers of linguistic research; second, our college grew out of (and remains) an appendage of the University of Alabama Medical School; and third, our program is within the School of Humanities, the traditional pauper of any university community. It's easy to think of the disadvantages to a marginal existence like this: we lack an operating budget, a support staff, a speakers fund, and even stationery, and we must rely on the largesse of nonlinguists for library funds, travel support, curriculum approval and other matters. But despite such drawbacks, we think that there are some hidden advantages and some unique opportunities that present themselves. We've found several ways to cope with

existing on the fringes of the university and the linguistics world, and we want to discuss some of these.

Tenure and colleague relations

Getting tenure is understandably one of the foremost things on any Assistant Professor's mind. At our university, tenure decisions are made on the basis of perceived excellence in three areas: scholarship, teaching and service. We think of the tenure process as a game of chance in which a positive tenure recommendation arises from lining up all three of these. While there are, of course, many factors that enter into real-life tenure decisions – for example, the degree of harmony in a department or school, extent to which a department is tenured up, shifts in administrative expectations, and so forth – there are ways that a marginal status can be an advantage. For one thing, one's research and teaching is unlikely to be second guessed, as for example might be the case for a poet or creative writer or composition specialist in an English Department. Such fields as those sometimes present an illusion of accessibility that can tempt hasty or dismissive judgements. In our experience, however, linguistics does not give this illusion of accessibility and the opinions of the outside evaluators are likely to be given more weight than in more familiar disciplines.

Tenure and retention decisions are supposed to be made on the basis of teaching, research and service. But we all know that collegiality counts for a lot. In a large department it may be easier to maintain good colleague relations. Our department, for example, has a diversity of academic interests from Jacques Derrida to Zane Gray and a schedule with courses offered 7 days a week from 6 am to 10 pm. We think this freedom and flexibility is a good thing for beginning assistant professors and is especially beneficial for women faculty members. In smaller, male-dominated departments where there may be more fixed rituals of 'collegiality' and social

interaction among faculty members, it might be easier for a women to be excluded and isolated by simply 'not fitting in'.

Support systems

Every academic needs a support system inside the university and outside of it. In a marginalized situation, the contrast between inside and outside is particularly clear cut: our extra-university support groups consist mainly of linguist colleagues who serve as commenters on papers, possible tenure referees, sources for unpublished papers, syllabi, bibliographies, and professional news. Lacking a built-in professional support system, we've been much more aware of our need to stay active professionally and to keep in frequent contact with colleagues elsewhere – via telephone, the postal service, electronic mail, participation in the LSA, and travel to conferences.

Unfortunately, professional contacts outside the university aren't of day-to-day help in advancing one's long-term goals at the university – in terms of program expansion, getting courses in the core curriculum, increasing budget support, funding new faculty lines and funding outside speakers, obtaining course release for administrative work, and so on. We feel at something of a disadvantage here, lacking a power base of senior colleagues who are able to talk up a proposal, put in a good word to influential administrators, carry the ball at meetings, and suggest strategies to us. We have worked to build the case for linguistics by circulating our annual report to those involved in the program and by publicizing program events in the University report. We have built contacts with the faculty in the Women's Studies Program, with the Computer and Information Science Department and with the Honors Program. This has sometimes involved serving as an outside reader on a thesis committee, giving guest lectures on linguistic-related topics or team-teaching

interdisciplinary courses. (At our university we have found that the Women's Studies Program and the Honors Program have been particularly hospitable to linguistics due, we suspect, to the strong interdisciplinary orientation of these programs. Needless to say, involvement in a university's Women's Studies Program can be particularly beneficial to junior faculty women in providing access to the informal women's network on campus.) Involvement with other programs is useful and intellectually stimulating, but, of course, none of these groups has the development of the linguistics program as its primary concern. Such connections really do not take the place of a department of one's own, and so, in matters of university politics, our marginal status puts us at a disadvantage. (There is no need to be alarmed, however; we are in no danger of being cut back, since we cost very little. But neither is there any inclination to provide us with resources for further growth.)

Learning the university

One of the things useful for a new assistant professor to know is how to get things done around the university: where the travel and research grant money is, how to schedule courses to get the optimal enrollments (whether large or small), how to promote a program, how to prepare a tenure file or internal research grant, how to develop and guide a new course through various stages of approval, how to deal with administrative requests, annual reports, committee service, etc. A lot of general things we have been able to learn from senior English Department colleagues. But even the most helpful English Department colleague can't give us fully informed advice in matters specific to the Linguistics Program. Neither our department nor our school are at all hostile to linguistics ('bemused' is perhaps the most accurate adjective), but the department and school have little appreciation for our curriculum needs, travel requirements, library resources, etc. Sometimes we feel

that we spend more time explaining our needs than we should have to. In addition, we find ourselves with added administrative work of running a program (advising, co-ordinating, publicizing and writing reports) as well as being members of a larger department. As a program on the fringe of the university, we get more exposure than we really want to the practical side of university life. This exposure is beneficial as a way of learning about the university, but it is also time-consuming and distracts us from other pursuits. At times this can be quite frustrating. Are we building for the future of a program or wasting a lot of time with administrivia?

Finding opportunities for professional development

By professional development we mean setting (and meeting) goals for a personal teaching and research agenda. Because of the nature of our curriculum, we have quickly made the transition from specialist to generalist. We teach few specialized theoretical courses of the sort we took as graduate students. Instead, we teach linguistic-oriented service courses – bread and butter courses like History of English and Advanced Grammar – for our home department; all of the full-time members of our department teach English Composition, so we teach that as well; in addition to the linguistics courses required for a major concentration, we also offer courses that are aimed at attracting new majors and minors (courses dealing with language and power, language and law, computational linguistics, etc.); and we sometimes find it necessary to offer independent study courses to supplement the offerings available in the regular course schedule.

The nice thing about such a diverse teaching schedule is that we get to learn new things and it provides us with a wealth of teaching experiences. And it's enjoyable to branch out into new areas. Sometimes, however, being a generalist can become a teaching burden. Rather than

having a small number of courses that are one's own, we feel the stress of having to do too much. It is easy to become so overburdened by teaching variety that it's difficult to sustain the mental energy required for more specialized research projects. And it is possible to become so attracted to other interests that you find yourself dabbling in many projects tangential to your core research goals. So, while living in the margin of a larger department and the larger university community can be stimulating and broadening intellectually, there is a danger of losing your focus and depleting your energy.

Conclusion

Now we want to sum up our experiences. We think that a marginalized situation can offer both advantages and disadvantages. In our case, the advantages are that we are relatively free from interference and second guessing with respect to our curriculum and we are free to organize our program as we like. The disadvantages are that we have little influence in the university, no special access to its power centers, and have to work harder to get our message across (to students, administrators and colleagues) than autonomous departments do. Put slightly differently, we have great freedom within limits, but we have great limits. Of course, we don't propose that general conclusions be drawn from just one case, but we hope that some of the distinctions we've made and observations we've raised might be useful to others and will perhaps stimulate further research in the sociology of different types of situations linguists find themselves in. We should point out that the situation we describe is not really unique to linguistics. What we describe here might be equally true of other specialists who lack senior colleagues. There are many ways that academics can become disconnected persons. We hope that we have provided some helpful comments on how junior faculty members can deal with marginal status in the university.

Independent and Isolated Scholars: Report on the Group Discussion

Susan Kesner Bland
Cornell University

The discussion in this group centered around the "independent scholar," roughly defined as a Ph.D. in linguistics who is either unaffiliated with a university or who is employed part-time in academia or a related field. Independent scholars are nevertheless involved in linguistic research, and are actively pursuing careers in linguistics. Independent scholars are typically women who are unable to move away from geographic regions which are undesirable for seeking employment in their field of linguistics, and/or women who may be unable to work full-time for a certain number of years. Since the late nineteen seventies, fifty per cent or more of Ph.D.s in linguistics have been earned by females. In view of this fact, the independent scholar/female linguist is quite common.

What are the problems of the independent scholar? What sort of institutional policies might one ask for?

The small number of participants in this group discussion was itself evidence of the principal problem of the independent scholar, namely, isolation. A lack of institutional affiliation and its concomitant lack of office space and mail box, makes it difficult to maintain productive communication networks with linguistics colleagues in nearby universities. It would seem relatively easy to get oneself on a mailing list and to attend linguistics colloquia on a regular basis; but in fact, it is difficult for the independent scholar to find a comfortable niche in such an arrangement. The independent scholar typically has no peers within the established institutionalized ranks of graduate students, junior faculty, and senior faculty. It is difficult to feel "legitimate" in this environment, rather than

"unemployed." This "legitimacy problem," it should be pointed out, actually goes beyond the personal feelings of the independent scholar. It is a problem that needs to be reckoned with in the larger institution of academia. For without an institutional affiliation, independent scholars also lack the "letterhead" and title that they need when they submit abstracts and papers to conferences, when they write papers for journals, and when they seek research money for support.

A related set of problems which was discussed concerned the fate of the independent scholar in the academic job market. How do linguistics departments view the non-linear career path of the independent scholar? Is being "marginal" vis-a-vis the linguistic academic community necessarily negative? Can an independent scholar compete with job applicants who have had more "normal" career histories?

A number of suggestions were made for institutional policies that would help female independent scholars. First, institutions should provide independent scholars with the opportunity to maintain some sort of university affiliation that would provide them with a title (e.g. "visiting scholar" but preferably something less temporary), a letterhead, and a mailbox. They should find ways to involve them in the linguistic intellectual community that would be beneficial to both the independent scholar and the department. Second, institutions, especially females in chair and dean positions, should recognize, understand, and give appropriate consideration to the alternative career histories of female job applicants. Institutions need to find ways to measure the talent and productivity of independent scholars against the established, and typically male-dominated institutionalized norms for hiring, promotion, and tenure. They also need to consider more seriously the possibility of job- sharing and the role of part-time faculty in their departments. Women who wish to raise families and pursue linguistics

careers need the variety of options that numerous other professions are currently creating for their female members. Without these options, many talented female linguists are forced to leave the field of linguistics permanently.

Epilogue

Conference Participants

This collection focuses on problems faced by women in the linguistics profession, and in academe and the workplace more generally, and suggests some ways to address them. During our two days in Ithaca, we heard and discussed the talks on which these papers are based, and we also talked about these matters with one another at meals and during coffee breaks. Most of us experienced a wide range of reactions as we learned more of the diversity and complexity of women's experience in the linguistics profession – and also more about the inequities that persist some two decades after linguists influenced by the developing feminist movement first began thinking and talking about gender biases in the discipline. We were sometimes shocked, angered, saddened, or depressed by what we heard. Occasionally, we were amused or puzzled. But most important, at many points we were energized and directed towards strategies for productive change. Talking together as the conference drew to an end, we resolved to draw on that collective energy and to start working together to make the linguistics profession more sensitive to women's needs and concerns.

On a hot June evening at the end of the conference, quite a few of us returned to Morrill Hall (our conference site) to drink soda and beer and to talk about what to do next. And we did make a start on the future agenda. First, we proposed that the Linguistic Society of America's Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics act as a coordinating body to distribute information related to women's issues within the LSA. We also hoped that a session of the annual meeting could be routinely devoted to papers on women's issues; such sessions would bring the topics raised in Ithaca to a wider audience and would create a permanent forum in which to address these matters. In addition, we decided to encourage the

different regional linguistics societies and regular conferences to include in their schedules times for a women's caucus meeting; one popular suggestion was breakfast meetings for people interested in women's issues. We talked too about having the LSA summer institutes regularly include courses, workshops and other forums for discussion of the scholarly and professional topics raised in these papers. We ended our evening by agreeing to edit this volume and write this epilogue collectively.

Our proposals and these papers are intended as first steps on what will inevitably be a long journey. A major goal is a fundamental restructuring of the current academic hierarchy, which routinely marginalizes women and women's concerns. But in addition, if the linguistics profession is to provide support for women and others who are currently marginalized, we need to attend not only to linguists in academia, but to those who are employed outside of academia and to those who are unemployed. These Ithaca lectures will, we hope, stimulate wider discussion of the problems encountered by women in linguistics and also of gender dimensions in the content and structure of the discipline of linguistics. That discussion must also, we think, include examination of such closely related matters as racism, heterosexism, and elitism in the profession. Discussion will, we hope, lead to substantive action. We invite readers of this volume to join with us in working to transform the linguistics profession into one that welcomes women, and others now marginalized, as full-fledged members; and one that actively promotes our intellectual, professional, and personal well-being.